

**DOMESTIC WORK AND LIVELIHOOD  
EXPERIENCES FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE:  
A CASE STUDY OF CHELSTON TOWNSHIP IN  
LUSAKA**

**By**

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of  
Master of Arts in Gender Studies**

**July 2015**

## DECLARATION

I declare that the work presented in this dissertation entitled “**Domestic Work and Livelihood Experiences from a Gender Perspective: A Case Study of Chelstone Township, Lusaka Zambia**” is to the best of my knowledge and belief my own work and contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree. I have however acknowledged all other works.

*Melody Kanyembo*

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to investigate domestic work and livelihood experiences in Zambia from a gender perspective. It specifically dealt with the nature of work, experiences and coping strategies employed by female and male domestic workers in Chelstone township of Lusaka, Zambia. A mixed methods study design was used on a sample of 120 of whom 70 were women and 50 men who were selected using Respondent Driven and Purposive sampling techniques. Structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were the data collection methods utilised. Quantitative data was analysed using SPSS Version 21 to generate descriptive statistics while qualitative data was analysed using thematic content analysis.

The findings indicate that the gender dimension is prominent in the manner that tasks are allocated among domestic workers. The study found that there are jobs that are typical for women and these include child minding/ babysitting, cooking, cleaning house and utensils, washing, laundry, and ironing. Men's work on the other hand is more of washing cars, gardening and cleaning surroundings, driving and security services and other household tasks. However, the aspect of gendered division of labour is not a universal phenomenon. It was found that some employers allocated jobs which cut across both sexes and this is often the case among domestic workers who were classified as 'general workers'. Experiences of domestic workers with their jobs are largely negative. They recounted long hours of work, sexual harassment, verbal abuse, poor health consequences, low salaries and unequal relationships with employers. Gender was significantly associated with poor health outcomes with men being mostly affected compared to women except for sexual harassment where women were the most victims.

In terms of coping strategies which were resulting from negative experiences, the respondents displayed a sense of helplessness, despair and isolation. Most of them (71.4%) indicated that they can do nothing to ease their situation and enhance their livelihood. Some of them however shared their predicaments with friends, family members, the police and employers' significant others. A few opted to quit their employment under undesirable conditions of work. With regard to coping with financial challenges, most domestic workers engaged in small businesses, debts, sexual relationships and stealing. The study recommends public awareness efforts and the facilitation of accessible complaint procedures and for the efficient and meaningful application of written provisions.

**Key words:** *Domestic Work, Livelihood Experiences, Gender, Chelstone.*

## **DEDICATION**

To my child Janet Blessing Banda (Prophetess Comfort), who till my life with joy and meaning every day.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

### 1.1. Background

Domestic work is among the oldest occupations in the world and there has been a rapid increase in terms of numbers (ILO 2011). According to the International Labour Organisation there are “tens of millions” of domestic workers worldwide (ILO, 2009). The International Labour Organisation estimates that at least 52.6 million men and women work as domestic workers across the world. This figure represents a significant share of global wage employment at 3.6 per cent. The estimates further show that women comprised 43.6 million or 83 per cent of the total global domestic workforce and further that domestic work is an important source of wage employment for women and men (ILO, 2011). ILO further estimates that domestic workers represent 4 to 10 per cent of the total workforce in developing countries and 1 to 2.5 per cent of the total workforce in developed countries (ILO 2011). For Zambia, Hansen (1986) reports that there are 50,000 plus Domestic Workers in Lusaka, although there are not many recent domestic labour surveys in Zambia.

ILO Convention No. 189 states that a domestic worker is an employee with an employment relationship that is performed in the household or households (ILO, 2009). Domestic workers work in the homes of others for pay, providing a range of domestic services such as cleaning, washing, ironing, shopping, cooking; care for children, the elderly, and the disabled; or provide gardening, washing cars, driving and security services. A domestic worker may either be a live-in (residing in the employer’s house) or a live-out (a commuter). Domestic workers provide essential services that enable others to work outside the home, thus facilitating the functioning of labour market and the economy (ILO, 2012). In spite of their valuable role in serving and caring for households and contribution to the global economy, domestic workers remain one of the least socially recognised and protected groups of workers globally.

International Labour Organisation (2012) also notices that what distinguishes domestic workers from many other workers, however, is that they work in private households, their remuneration tends to be among the lowest in the labour market, and they tend to be informally engaged. Domestic workers are thus vulnerable to abusive treatment, discrimination and unfair working conditions. Such abusive practices originate or manifest in their isolation from other workers, long and unpredictable hours of work, low levels of remuneration, socio-cultural barriers (for example language, class and religion) that prevent them from engaging and negotiating with their employers and serious difficulties in finding alternative jobs due to their lower-than-average levels of formal education. Since their workplaces are private households, domestic workers, to a large extent, work in relative isolation from other workers making it exceptionally difficult for them to meet with fellow workers to exchange experiences and information and to organise collectively.

While domestic work has attracted scholars, policymakers and NGOs' attention over the last few years (Anderson 2000, Human Rights Watch 2004, ILO 2009, Anti-Slavery International 2013), domestic work in Zambia has not been thoroughly studied. Despite that empirical studies (Hansen 1990, Global Network, 2011 and Banda 2012) have attempted to investigate issues related to domestic work with the main focus on the conditions of domestic work, employer and employee relationship and the minimum wage policy, none of them investigated domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. Domestic workers are objectively vulnerable due to their employment in a high-risk form of labour, and their experiences of exploitation and slavery on the basis of their gender, age and social class, despite being an important source of wage employment for women and men. There is, therefore a need to investigate experiences of domestic workers from a gender perspective in Zambia to help understand the nature of work performed by female and male domestic workers, livelihood and coping strategies of female and male domestics in gender perspective. It is this gap in information which forms the basis of this study.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Domestic workers remain invisible because of the very fact that domestic work is performed in the home. This private and informal sphere makes it difficult for law enforcement, regulation, advocacy, and representation and bargaining. This also makes policy makers reluctant to take decisions, for example, reviewing legal frameworks that seem to exclude Domestic Workers (Anti-Slavery International, 2013: 8-9; Human Rights Watch, 2004). International Labour Organisation indicates that domestic labour is exploitative and slavery in nature, despite being an important source of wage employment for women and men. In Zambia, domestic labour is one social problem whose solutions are yet to be developed (Hence, Dachi and Garret, 2003) inspite the fact that there are policies which tends to address domestic workers vulnerability (ZHDR, 2011; ILO, 2012). Empirical studies that have attempted to investigate issues related to domestic work exist but very little covers gender issues. However, they have mainly focused on the nature of domestic work (Global Network, 2011), employer and employee relationship (Hansen, 1990) and the minimum wage policy (Banda, 2012). In so doing they have neglected the gendered aspect on the livelihood and experiences of domestic workers whether male or female. To date, their experiences as domestic workers and livelihoods as well as coping strategies from a gender perspective are yet to be known and it is for this reason that this study was conceptualized in order to address this gap in literature.

## **1.3. Significance of the Study**

This study is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly it has provided data that could be used to respond to local concerns about the working conditions and exploitation of domestic labour as demanded by ILO Convention No.189, and Recommendation 201 (2011), on legal protections and international framework for national laws to address vulnerability of domestic workers worldwide. Secondly the findings are likely to generate interest and create awareness about the livelihood and experiences of domestic workers from a gender perspective among human rights advocates, policy makers, and other gender activists, donors and the public. Looking at the numerous abuses and legal as well as ILO

convention violations, such awareness is expected to motivate further studies into the phenomenon, while also highlighting areas for programme and policy action.

#### **1.4. Research Objectives**

The general objective of the study was to investigate domestic work and livelihood experiences in Zambia from a gender perspective.

##### **1.4.1. Specific Objectives:**

Specifically, the study was designed to:

- 1) Examine the nature of work performed by female and male domestic workers.
- 2) Investigate the experiences of domestic workers in gender perspective.
- 3) Establish the livelihood and coping strategies of female and male domestic workers.

#### **1.5. Research Questions**

Withstanding the research objectives, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What is the nature of work performed by female and male domestic workers?
- 2) What are the experiences of domestic workers in gender perspective?
- 3) What are the livelihood and coping strategies of female and male domestic workers?

#### **1.6. Scope of the Study**

This is a case study and as such it was only applicable to women and men working as live-out domestic workers in Chelstone area of Lusaka city in Zambia. The sample size was not totally representative as the researcher targeted a few domestic workers in Chelstone, and as such cannot give sufficient generalisation power given also that sampling was not randomised given the nature of the study units' dispersion in the research setting. The research findings cannot be generalised beyond Chelstone. It is recommended, therefore, that a much wider study should be conducted.

## **1.7. Definition of the Concepts**

### **1.7.1. Domestic Work**

The term “domestic work” covers a wide range of tasks and services that vary from country to country and that can be different depending on the age, gender, ethnic background and migration status of the workers concerned, as well as the cultural and economic context in which they work. This means that a definition of domestic work involved on the basis only of the tasks being performed risks being perpetually incomplete. According to ILO (2011) the term “domestic work” means work performed in or for a household or households. This definition is drawn on the common and distinctive characteristic that domestic workers are employed by, and provide services for, third party private households (Bourdillon et al, 2010).

### **1.7.2. Domestic Worker**

A domestic worker is an employee with an employment relationship that is performed in the household or households (ILO, 2011). Domestic workers work in the homes of others for pay, providing a range of domestic services such as cleaning, washing, ironing, shopping, cooking; care for children, the elderly, and the disabled; or provide gardening, washing cars, driving and security services. A domestic worker may either be a live-in (residing in the employer’s house) or a live-out (a commuter).

## **1.8. Summary**

Chapter one has introduced the whole study of domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. It has looked at the background of the study, statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, which includes the general and specific objectives, research questions, significance and scope of the study, and definition of the research concepts. The next chapter looks at literature review.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0. Introduction**

This section reviews previous studies that have been done on domestic work in Zambia and other parts of the world. The literature review is based on published articles and books mainly from computerised Adobe data base and University of Zambia library's E-journals. In order to be relevant to the focus of the study, the literature review is premised around the areas that encompass the objectives of the study. As such it deals with sex and gender composition in domestic work, terms of employment and working conditions, abuse and mistreatment of domestic workers, domestic work a hazard to health and finally the regulation of domestic work. Before that happens, however, an overview of domestic work that articulates the working definition and contextualises domestic work is given.

#### **2.1. Overview of Domestic Work**

Domestic work is among the oldest occupations in the world and there has been a rapid increase in terms of numbers of domestic workers in the recent past (ILO 2011). According to the International Labour Organisation there are "tens of millions" of domestic workers worldwide (ILO, 2009). The ILO estimates that at least 52.6 million men and women work as domestic workers across the world. This figure represents a significant share of global wage employment at 3.6 per cent. The estimates further show that women comprise 43.6 million or 83 per cent of the total global domestic workforce and that domestic work is an important source of wage employment for women and men (ILO, 2011). ILO further estimates that domestic workers represent 4 to 10 per cent of the total workforce in developing countries and 1 to 2.5 per cent of the total workforce in developed countries (ILO 2010). Africa is the third largest employer of domestic workers, after Asia and Latin America. Approximately 5.2 million domestic workers are employed throughout the region, 3.8 million of whom are women and 1.4 million men. For Zambia, Hansen (1989) reports that there are

50,000 plus domestic workers in Lusaka, although there are not many recent domestic labour surveys in Zambia.

International Labour Organisation Convention No. 189 defines a domestic worker as an employee with an employment relationship that is performed in the household or households (ILO, 2009). Domestic workers work in the homes of others for pay, providing a range of domestic services such as cleaning, washing, ironing, shopping, cooking; care for children, the elderly, and the disabled; or provide gardening, washing cars, driving and security services. A domestic worker may either be a live-in (residing in the employer's house) or a live-out (a commuter). Domestic workers provide essential services that enable others to work outside the home, thus facilitating the functioning of labour market and the economy (ILO, 2012). In spite of their valuable role in serving and caring for households and contribution to the global economy, domestic workers remain one of the least socially recognised and protected groups of workers globally.

International Labour Organisation (2012) also notices that what distinguishes domestic workers from many other workers is that they work in private households, their remuneration tends to be among the lowest in the labour market, and that they tend to be informally engaged. Domestic work is poorly regulated, undervalued, and many domestic workers are subject to serious abuses, including slavery (ILO 2009; Human Rights Watch 2007). Domestic workers often work excessively long hours, without breaks, days off or holidays. Those who live with their employers are often considered 'on call' to undertake work for their employer 24 hours per day. The pay is often very low with wage payments frequently delayed. Some domestic workers may not be paid at all or only receive 'payment in kind' such as food or accommodation. Domestic workers tend to have a personal and intimate knowledge of their employers but the relationship is highly unequal leaving many domestic workers vulnerable to insults and threats alongside physical and even sexual abuse. Some domestic workers experience a lack of food and poor living conditions such as having to sleep on the floor in a utility room.

Domestic workers lack legal protection (Neetha, 2008, Human Rights Watch, 2004). In many countries, domestic workers are not considered 'workers' but rather as informal 'help' and are excluded from national labour legislation. Often they do not enjoy the same protections such as minimum pay, social security, and maternity benefits as other members of the workforce. In countries where domestic workers are covered by national labour laws, enforcement is poor and these protections have not been translated into practice. Domestic workers are exploited behind closed doors in private households and fall outside the normal regulatory and inspection framework applicable to other places of work. Their isolation from other workers, long and unpredictable hours of work, low levels of remuneration, socio-cultural barriers (for example, language, class and religion) prevent them from engaging and negotiating with their employers and serious difficulties in finding alternative jobs due to their lower-than-average levels of formal education. Since their workplaces are private households, domestic workers, to a large extent, work in relative isolation from other workers making it exceptionally difficult for them to meet with fellow workers to exchange experiences and information and to organise collectively and join trade unions (ILO 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2007).

In 2011, the ILO Labour Organisation adopted the Domestic Work Convention which gives domestic workers across the world legal protections and provides an international framework for national laws to address the particular vulnerability of domestic workers everywhere to slavery and exploitation. It came into force on 5 September 2013. Unfortunately only few countries ratified the convention so far and the legal protections for domestic workers in most of world's countries remain weak.

## **2.2. Previous Research**

Domestic labour is a big concern for many NGOs, international organisations and countries, including Zambia. A number of studies have been conducted on issues related to domestic labour in Zambia and other parts of the world. International Labour Organisation notices that domestic work is among the oldest occupations in the world and there has been a rapid increase in terms of

numbers (ILO 2011). Grant (1997) points out that “the continued vulnerability of women and men in the domestic sector has layers of colonial and racial oppression to blame. Scholars such as Cock (1980), Gordon (1985) and Gaitskell (1984) began to show the oppression of women domestic workers by their white female employers. The relationship between ‘maids’ and ‘madams’ was usually characterised as a close relationship, but these authors argued that there cannot be talk of “sisterhood” (Cock 1980) when black women are faced with triple oppression: oppressed as workers, blacks, and women. Most of the oppression they experienced in the hands of the white women; through low wages, long working hours, and domination by employers.

Gordon (1985) provides life stories of twenty-three domestic workers during apartheid in South Africa. The life stories reveal how some employers viewed their ‘servants’ as a commodity, being made to work long hours for little wages. The domestic workers were also treated with little respect by their employers and their children.

Pape (1993) discusses how the politics of the nationalist struggle in Zimbabwe highlighted the conditions of domestic workers as black men and women exploited by white employers. This, he argued, resulted in post-independence legislation and measures to address the conditions of domestic workers and in the establishment of a national union for domestic workers as part of a political agenda of righting the wrongs of colonialism. As a result, a large segment of domestic work was formalised and specialised, and this had a positive effect on the overall treatment of domestic workers. Similarly Hansen’s work in Zambia, documents the participation of domestic workers in labour strikes in the colonial period (Hansen, 1986; 1986b; 1990) which resulted in the formalisation of domestic labour.

### **2.3. Sex and Gender Composition in Domestic Work**

While it is argued that domestic work is a predominantly female sector (Ray, 2000), a study of South Africa and domestic work during apartheid by Van Onselen (1982) reveals that, between 1890 and 1914, the majority of the

servants in the Witwatersrand were black (Zulu) men. The rising white lower-middle and working classes which made up the bulk of the white population mainly made use of black men as their domestic servants (Van Onselen 1982). These men received basic training and were mainly taught cleaning, washing, ironing, and cooking. Hansen (1986b), Pape (1993) and Bujra (2000) show that the employment of men as domestic servants was not only unique to South Africa, it was also common in other African societies during the colonial period. In Zambia, for example, due to the economic and social arrangements of colonialism, and racist assumptions about the sexuality of African women and the presumed inconvenience of having them too close in the home, African men have historically been engaged in domestic work (Hansen, 1986b). In Zimbabwe, domestic work is done by both men and women, although the nature of the tasks they perform are in some cases different (Pape, 1993).

The study by Van Onselen (1982) further revealed that in South Africa the growth of the mining industry resulted in an increased demand for labour in the mines. As black men went to work in the gold mine, more and more black women were hired as domestic servants (Van Onselen 1982). This was the first major transformation in domestic service in South Africa, from a mainly male dominated sector to a female dominated sector.

However, Hansen (1986b) and Pape (1993) have shown that in Zambia and Zimbabwe this change in gender composition of the domestic workforce did not result in the displacement of male domestic workers by women; as was the case in South Africa. By 1990, Zambian domestic service still had a relatively large number of male servants compared to female servants (Hansen 1990) and in Zimbabwe the wealthy white and black households used men as cooks, house workers and gardeners (Pape 1993:401). Bujra (2000) shows how by 1986 Tanzania was similar to Zambia and Zimbabwe, as domestic service continued to be dominated by men. Even though women became more available as domestic workers and were cheaper than male domestic workers, employers still preferred men over women and regard men as better than women in terms of domestic work.

This background in literature therefore justifies the composition of men and women in the current research study of domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective.

#### **2.4. Terms of Employment and Working Conditions**

Domestic service is shaped by the type of household that domestic workers enter. Some are the only employee in the household; others work with one or two other domestics. Some work along-side their employer and/or their employer's children, and some work as live-in and live-out respectively (ILO, 2012; Ray, 2000). The gender dimension may however affect the allocation of tasks. Women often do child care, cleaning the house, washing plates and clothes, ironing, shopping, cooking, care for the elderly, and the disabled. While men provide gardening, farming, cleaning surroundings, washing cars, driving and security services (Ray, 2000).

However, while domestic work can provide a valuable entry point into the labour market for both women and men, the downside is that poor working conditions and insufficient legal protection of domestic workers disproportionately affect women and men and reinforce gender disparities in relation to access to decent work (Risman, 2004). Domestic workers are still exploited in their work and many work long hours for low wages. Domestic workers' job descriptions (if they have any) tend to be vague from the outset with no clear understandings of what to do and what not to do. Thus, this leads to women and men being subjected to unfair work which was not part of their original job description. For example, Anderson (2000) in a study of "nature and conditions of employment" for domestic workers in Malawi found that domestic workers were also expected to clean the yard, clean shoes for everyone in the family, wash dogs and clean up their mess, flush toilets and cook food for the dogs. Thus, this bad treatment make domestic workers feel unappreciated, undervalued and unrecognised, which lead to feelings of unhappiness and shame with their jobs.

Shashi Bala (2010) studied employment and conditions of domestic help of 649 female domestic workers in four metropolitan cities (Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Kolkata) in 2008. This study revealed that the daily working hours of domestic workers were between 12 to 18 hours, while their earnings depend on number of household and colony they were working in. Monthly earnings of the majority of workers ranged between Rs 2000 to Rs 3000. Full time domestic workers were not getting proper food despite cooking food for all the family members. About 66 percent of them were illiterates and were being exploited in terms of non-payment of money, physical and sexual abuse.

Additionally, ILO (2010) asserts that the way in which domestic workers enter a household influences if and how they are remunerated. Some enter as trained maids from maid centres while others as untrained. Anderson (2000) felt that domestic workers' wage rate depends upon the nature of the work, number of hours of work, size and status of the family. Live-out domestics wage rate is higher whereas full time live-in domestic workers get food shelter even though wages are lesser than live out domestics. However, Human Rights Watch (2004) argues that domestic workers are not guaranteed a regular wage. Wages are often below the statutory minimum wage and there is no provision for overtime payments, health insurance. In Chile, for instance, wages of domestic workers are 25 per cent lower than that in other occupations. In addition, wage payments may be delayed, improperly calculated or withheld arbitrarily (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Mewa Bharti, a JAGORI fellow, undertook a study in Jaipur which demonstrates the informal nature of domestic work and the vulnerabilities of the domestic workers. The study draws attention to lack of norms for wages, leave (weekly and annual) and working conditions. In fact, even the term domestic worker is rarely used, they are referred to as 'maids' or 'servants' thereby not giving them any status as workers (Anti-Slavery International, 2013).

## **2.5. Abuse and Mistreatment in the Lives of Domestic Workers**

Domestic workers are vulnerable to physical and psychological abuse, especially when they live in the home of the employer. Some studies have found that, in the course of their work, domestic workers sometimes experience violence from their

employers. This is because of the power dynamics that exist between the worker and the employer (Cock, 1980; Cohen, 2000; Mkandawire-Valhmu et al., 2009). A 2006 study of 500 domestic workers in West Bengal (India) by Anti-Slavery International, for example, found that 68 per cent had faced physical abuse, with almost half suffering severe abuse that had led to injuries and 86 per cent of domestic workers had experienced emotional abuse (Anti-Slavery International, 2006).

In Malawi, Mkandawire-Valhmu (2010), found that the lives of domestic workers are characterised by abuse in the workplace. Abuse was sometimes in the form of food deprivation. They also found that women experienced verbal abuse as well as reports of physical abuse. The gender, race and inequalities that characterise domestic work create an environment in which there is great potential for abuse. Similarly, Dinat and Peberdy (2007) in their study in Johannesburg found that domestic workers had to carry their own food, because they were not offered food at work and sometimes were offered food that had been spoilt or food that the employers themselves would not eat. However, Mkandawire-Valhmu et al. (2009) argue that many women and men work in cities far away from home. As a result they often accept living with their employers in spite of the risk of abuse and the lack of support if abuse happens. As for live-out domestic workers, lack of other sustainable livelihoods mechanism situate them to continue working with abusive employers.

Anti-slavery International (2013) has over the years made several submissions to the Human Rights Commission/Council concerning the slavery-like conditions in which a number of adult and child domestic workers are trapped. Its recent publication on domestic work in the Middle East throws light on the elements of coercion and violence that adult and child domestic workers are subjected to and the tendency on the part of employers to treat them as their possessions. In some Middle-eastern countries, domestic workers have received violent and life-threatening punishments, like stoning and caning; they have been arrested, imprisoned and convicted of dubious crimes through irregular legal processes. Many have died under mysterious circumstances.

Consequently, domestic workers are probably the most exposed to sexual harassment and rape (Nandy, 2010). The social stigma attached to it and the financial pressure to remain in the job no matter what, prevent domestic workers from filing complaints against members of the employer's family who abuse them. Those who do, rarely obtain a verdict against the employer, particularly if the victim is a migrant worker. Besides, women employers are known to demonise sexually abused workers for seducing the men in the household (Human Rights Watch, 2007; Anti-slavery International, 2013). A study of employing families in Lima, Peru, showed that 60 percent of males had their first sexual experience with domestic workers (Boyden, Ling, and Myers 1998, 38). A study in West Bengal in India showed over 20 percent of women domestic workers said they had been forced or tricked into sexual intercourse, and many others reported having been sexually abused in other ways (Nandy, 2010). In El Salvador, an ILO study showed that more than 15 per cent of domestic workers who had changed their employers had done so because of sexual harassment or abuse (ILO, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2004).

## **2.6. Domestic Work a Hazard to Health**

Domestic work can be hazardous both because of the tasks undertaken and because of the conditions of work. In its most recent General Survey, the ILO's CEACR noted that domestic workers constitute a "high-risk group", and expressed concerns regarding the effect on their physical health associated with, amongst other things, long hours, poor food, overwork and hazards implicit in their working conditions (ILO, 2012). Domestic workers regularly perform a variety of tasks, such as carrying heavy loads, handling toxic household chemicals, gardening, farming and working with knives, hot pans and irons, which can be exhausting and dangerous, particularly for women and for those already fatigued by long working hours and lack of sleep (IPEC, 2011). Domestic workers, for example in Zimbabwe sometimes complain of receiving shocks from electrical equipment (Bourdillon, 2007).

An ILO survey of domestic workers in Viet Nam found that 36 per cent had been sick or injured during their service, with a higher percentage among the younger workers (between the ages of 19 and 30). Common illnesses reported by these younger workers included coughs and respiratory problems, headaches, back pain and wounds (ILO, 2006). A study in Brazil of 3,269 domestic workers aged 19-30 found that those involved in domestic work experienced more musculoskeletal pain than those employed in other sectors (Fassa et al., 2005). Of particular concern is that the injuries associated with this pain, caused by awkward posture and monotonous and heavy physical work, can hinder physical development and result in long-term damage (IPEC, 2011). There are also likely to be long term health impacts of chronic sleep deprivation (ranging from, for example, depression and behaviour disorders to chronic diseases), and from being “on-call” 24 hours a day (IPEC, 2011).

More recently, concern about the health impacts of domestic workers has shifted to include aspects of their psychosocial well-being. In its reports on the situation of domestic workers in El Salvador, Guatemala, Indonesia, Morocco and Togo, Human Rights Watch (2004) has found that, almost without exception, interviewees suffered some form of psychological abuse. It concludes that “employer abuse, combined with isolation at the workplace, excessive work demands, and financial pressures may contribute to intense anxiety and depression” (Human Rights Watch, 2006).

## **2.7. Regulation of Domestic Work**

While this is a pitfall, the prospect/intervention is that “labour laws” covering domestic workers have been introduced and implemented in several countries over the years. These include Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, France, Hong Kong, SAR, Jordan, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Uruguay, some US states, including Zambia and other states. These initiatives are in line with international human rights standards, including the recently adopted ILO Convention 189 and Recommendation 201 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers, 2011 (ILO, 2011). It is generally perceived that “domestic work contributes to renewing and

sustaining life and is critically linked to social and economic development” (ILO, 2012).

In South Africa, paid domestic work is recognised as a form of employment and their rights are well enshrined and recognised in the existing pieces of labour legislation (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). New York State passed domestic workers bill of rights in 2010 that requires employers to pay liveable wages including overtime pay, paid holidays, vacation and sick days as well as to give advanced termination notice and paid severance. In Egypt domestic workers have access to some kind of social security support (retirement pension) in other countries there is no such support. Hong Kong is commended by Human Rights Watch for its efficient regulation of domestic work and recognition of the labour rights of migrant workers employed in households (ILO, 2011).

A study by Tomei (2011) "Domestic Work: oil for the wheels of the economy" in Belgium, France, the Canton of Geneva in Switzerland, and Brazil show that a growing involvement of the state and the market in the regulation and supply of domestic services offers an avenue for delivering decent work for domestic workers and challenges the historical undervaluation of their work, and these systems help regularise live-in and live-out domestic workers.

However, a study of live-out domestic workers in Delhi by Mehrotra (2010) reveals that domestic work is not recognised as 'work' by the Indian government. The State does not value or recognise this work as a contribution to society and the economy. As in the case of domestic workers, limited recognition means that the economic value of non-familial care continues to be devalued (Neetha, 2008).

In Ghana, an overview of the legal regime and practice by Dr Tsikata (2009) argues that domestic workers are largely undocumented because of the nature of their work and workplace. Tsikata further argues that the lack of solid research data on domestic work and workers makes regulation almost impossible. In the absence of regulation, domestic work remains characterised by long hours of work and unspecified performance of a variety of tasks including farming.

Further, report of a Baseline Survey of Women Domestic Workers in Mukuru Informal Settlement in Nairobi Kenya by Agaya and Asunza, OXFAM August 2013 found that although domestic work sector in Kenya has extensive legal and administrative regulative structures such as the Constitution 2010, the Labour Relations Act 2007, the ILO Convention 189 and Labour Ministry, the women domestic workers in Mukuru informal settlement remain vulnerable. They are exposed to abusive treatment, discrimination and receive low wages that in most cases are less than half the minimum daily or monthly wages. Other challenges include dismissal from work without compensation, abusive treatment, sexual harassment, discriminative practices at work and exposure to hazards like cleaning toilets, boiling water, chemicals, electricity and handling sick people without adequate protection.

Hansen's (1990) study on postcolonial Zambian domestic service looked at the emergence of middle class black employers. Her study showed a lack of trust between the employers and their female 'maids'. The 'maids' have been accused of wanting to replace the employers in their houses, they are also considered to be unreliable because they tend to leave without any notice. Therefore many Zambian employers still prefer to hire male servants (Hansen; 1990).

However, this study focused on employee-employer relationship and the findings of the study were too general. It did not give detailed information on experiences of domestic workers from a gender perspective. To this effect, there is a gap in knowledge on domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. Thus, this justification warrants the current research to be conducted in Zambia.

Global Network (2011) conducted a study on general domestic work in Zambia. The study aimed to investigate the vulnerability and decent work deficits, including the right to social protection of domestic workers. The study used both primary and secondary sources. Primary data came from interviews with domestic workers, trade union officials, civil society activists and labour officers. Secondary sources included the review of literature obtained from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, National Pension Scheme Authority, Central

Statistical Office and the trade union organising domestic workers. The study revealed the worsening working conditions of domestic workers and that domestic work continues to be the most vulnerable section of the labour force. For instance, the study revealed that domestics working hours are from 5:00 to 22:00hours for live-in and 06:00 to 18:00hours for live-out. According to government policy, domestic workers have to work a total of forty-eight hours a week and each day's work should not exceed eight hours. The study further indicated that even recent establishment of the minimum wage by the Zambian government does not meet the cost of living needs of domestic workers. According to the current Minimum Wages and Employment Conditions Order, domestic workers are entitled to ZMK520.00 (US\$100) per month. As regards job security, the study revealed that domestic workers have no job security as one can be fired without notice and no benefits at all (Global Network, 2011).

In view of the forgoing, the study conducted by Global Network (2011) generally focused on conditions of work for all domestic workers in Zambia. Hence, the study did not specifically aim to unravel the issues related to domestic work from a gender perspective. In this regard, the study did not give any details pertaining to the livelihood experiences of both female and male domestic workers. This, therefore, created a gap in knowledge on domestic work in Zambia and the livelihood experiences from a gender perspective.

Banda presented a research paper on Minimum Wage Policy and Domestic Workers in Zambia (2012). This was a qualitative study which examined the role of minimum wage policy in the working conditions of domestic workers in Zambia. The study revealed that the introduction of a minimum wage generally tends to improve domestic workers' wages although an increasing number of domestic workers in the labour market (excess supply) tend to maintain their vulnerability since it reduces their bargaining power. The study further reveals that despite this occupation being among the oldest in history, domestic work does not seem to be receiving the respect and recognition it deserves, both from the general public and policy makers. However, domestic workers still opt for such work because they are poor, need to look after their children and are less educated. Minimum wage legislation seems to have a positive effect on domestic

workers' wages, although the level of compliance is very low due to the weak institutional and legal framework surrounding this occupation. However, despite live-ins getting higher monthly wages than live-outs, the study found that their hourly wages are lower than those of live-outs. Both tend to have abnormal working hours, with only a few benefitting from overtime. They have low agency and self-esteem, especially live-ins.

After the review of previous research on domestic work, the researcher concludes that there are few empirical and analytical studies that provide detailed information on domestic work and livelihood experiences for both female and male domestic workers. To date the focus of research has primarily been on the condition of domestic work, employer and employee relationship and minimum wage policy (Hansen 1989; Global Network 2011; and Banda 2012). While these empirical studies provided important context concerning some of the most vulnerable domestic workers, the studies did not reflect on the subjective livelihood experiences of domestic work for females and males. Therefore, research on domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective has been limited. There is a literature gap on domestic work in the Zambian context since very few studies have been conducted on issues related to domestic work resulting in knowledge gaps. There is therefore, a dearth of literature on domestic work and livelihood experiences for both females and males. To this effect, sufficient reliable and comprehensive knowledge is not available. Hence, this study endeavours to investigate domestic work and livelihood experiences in Chelstone area of Lusaka city in Zambia from a gender perspective.

## **2.9. Theory Relevant to Domestic Work**

The present paper advances one theoretical framework to inductively orient the study and this is Intersectionality Theory.

### **2.9.1. *Intersectionality Theory***

Legal scholar Crenshaw (1989) developed the idea of intersectionality to analyze the relationship between race and gender in discrimination in the labour force

(Josephson, 2002). Crenshaw initially used this analysis to highlight the problems that minority women experience in trying to demonstrate workplace discrimination on the basis of both race and gender. Crenshaw also used intersectionality to analyse the interaction of racism and sexism in the experiences and lives of women of color who are victims of domestic violence (Crenshaw, 1991:1997; Josephson, 2002). However, the concept of intersectionality gained momentum in the 1990s when sociologist Collins revisited the idea as part of her framework on Black feminism (Wilson, 2010). Collins (2000) used the concept of intersectionality to examine and describe the lived experiences of Black American Women within the oppressive intersecting realm of race, class, gender and sexuality. The aim was to show how the experiences and struggles of women of colour could not be explained by feminist or by anti-racist theories.

McCall (2005) defines “intersectionality” as the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations. In this regard, intersectionality is a theory of knowledge that strives to elucidate and interpret multiple and intersecting systems of oppression and privilege. The theory seeks to disrupt linear thinking that prioritizes any one category of social identity. Instead, it strives to understand what is created and experienced at the intersection of two or more axes of oppression (for example, age, socio-economic class, illiteracy, ethnicity, culture, gender, and other critical dimensions of social inequality) on the basis that it is precisely at the intersection that a completely new status, that is more than simply the sum of its individual parts, is formed (Hankivsky and Christoffersen, 2008).

Consequently, an intersectional perspective does not simply add social categories to one another in an attempt to understand diverse experiences. Instead, the methodology for an intersectional paradigm seeks to uncover the convergence of experiences, including multiple forms of discrimination or oppression, and it does so without assuming these relations are predetermined (Hancock 2007; Hankivsky and Christoffersen, 2008). Intersectional analysis therefore aims to reveal multiple identities, exposing the different types of abuse, exploitation, marginalization and disadvantage that occur as a consequence of

the combination of identities that perpetuate poverty and gender, social and economic inequalities. In other words, intersectional theory strives to illuminate the significance of the interacting consequences of many different, but interdependent and reinforcing social identities and systems. Paying attention to how axes of oppression affect one another and how various experiences of oppressions are simultaneous gives new insights into social locations and experiences of identity (Risman, 2004; Hankivsky and Christoffersen, 2008). To this effect, intersectionality starts from the premise that people live multiple, layered identities derived from social relations, history and the operation of structures of power. As a theoretical paradigm, intersectionality allows us to understand multiple systems of social and economic injustice, or inequalities and violations of human rights. Thus, intersectionality is an analytical tool for gender, social and economic justice.

### ***2.9.2. Contextualizing Intersectionality Theory***

Collins (1998) asserts that intersectionality offers a means for analyzing and describing the experiences of individuals within a system of interlocking hierarchies. Intersectionality thus provides a means of understanding the lived experiences of individuals within a context of hierarchical power relations, and is thus particularly useful in understanding the complexity of the lived experiences of people who are vulnerable to human rights violations, abuse and exploitation. In view of the foregoing, many of the scholars of intersectionality have used the idea of intersectionality to explore and describe the lived experiences of individuals located at multiple and intersecting systems of oppression, privilege and inequality (Josephson, 2002). For example, Crenshaw (1991b) used the concept of intersectionality to analyze the ways in which mainstream discourse on domestic violence, as well as services for victims of domestic violence are targeted towards white women, and ignore the particular nature of domestic violence for women of color. In the context of domestic work, Wilson (2010) used the concept of intersectionality to examine how class, gender, and ethnicity intersect with one another to perpetuate inequality. One of the primary reasons for using intersectionality as the main perspective was to analyse and criticize the

existing system of power and privilege in society as reflected in social class (gender, economic and social inequalities) in Uganda.

With respect to domestic work, the researcher used the idea of intersectionality to examine and analyse how the intersection of multiple identities such as age, gender, low socio-economic status and poor educational background put domestic workers in the position of vulnerability, and perpetuate oppression and inequality. Specifically, the concept of intersectionality was used to assess how different sets of identities impact on domestic workers' freedoms, privilege and opportunities, and access to labour and human rights (such as the right to decent work and equal pay, adequate standard of living, protection from abuse).

The other aspect of intersectionality that makes it particularly useful for the purposes of this study is the concept of "structural intersectionality" developed by Crenshaw (1991b). In this case, the intersectional analysis was used to understand how the interaction of ineffective employment and gender policies, poor working conditions and terms of employment perpetuate domestic workers vulnerabilities in society. The concept of structural intersectionality is also useful in understanding how the family and government structures fail to deal with domestic labour and promote domestic workers' welfare. These analyses highlight the ways in which the particular social locations of domestic workers based on age, gender, socio-economic status, family background and low educational levels, shape their experiences of domestic work and demarcate the available policies and laws to address their vulnerabilities, human rights violations, abuse and exploitation at the hands of their employers. If the existing policies and laws do not respond to the particular abuses and human rights violations of domestic workers in the urban communities, domestics are unlikely to be protected from abuse and exploitation. Therefore, understanding the means to provide intervention strategies to redress domestic labour and all forms of abuse and exploitation of domestics, requires understanding of the effective ways in which age, gender, socio-economic class, educational level, and family background interact in domestic workers lives.

Another way in which intersectional analysis can be useful is implicit in the concept of political intersectionality. In this case, intersectionality cannot only help us to see what is wrong, but also point the way towards policies that might be more effective in addressing inequalities, oppression and other forms of human rights violations (Josephson, 2002). For the purposes of the current study, the idea of intersectionality is useful in analyzing how the gender and protection policies can be scaled-up in order to offer maximum protection of men and women engaged in domestic work, human rights violations, abuse and exploitation. To this effect, intersectional analysis highlights the way that policy responses could more effectively address the many and varied intersectional identities, abuse, exploitation and human rights violations of domestic workers.

## **2.10. Summary**

The chapter has looked at various studies that have been conducted in the field of domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. The chapter has also looked at the literature review derived from global, regional and national perspectives. In order to be relevant to the focus of the study, the literature review is premised around the areas that encompass the objectives of the study. As such it deals with sex and gender composition in domestic work, terms of employment and working conditions, abuse and mistreatment of domestic workers, domestic work a hazard to health and finally the regulation of domestic work. Intersectionality Theory as a theoretical framework has been used to inductively orient the study. The next chapter looks at methodology and research design.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **3.0. Introduction**

This chapter outlines the research methodologies that were used in the study. Research methodology is a method used to guide the research in collecting and analysing data within the framework of the research process (Patton, 1990). The chapter gives details on the research design, study site and population, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection techniques and tools, and data analysis. This chapter also presents ethical issues and study delimitations that the researcher encountered during data collection.

#### **3.1. Study Design**

The study applied both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to obtain a holistic insight into the objectives of the study. Quantitative and qualitative data were used to complement each other in data analysis and discussion of findings. Patton (1990:14) states that the quantitative approach is helpful in understanding the extent and scope of specific problems, and for defining parameters within which various potential solutions may be debated. Quantitative approach provides a measure of what people think from a statistical and numerical point of view. In this study, quantitative approach provided a measure of what participants think about domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective from a statistical and numerical point of view. It also provided information about the extent of the problem of domestic work.

Unlike quantitative methods, the qualitative approach obtained the perceptions and feelings of participants and the underlying issues, which quantitative data would omit. Kvale (1996) states that qualitative research study produces more in-depth, comprehensive information and seeks to understand people's interpretations, perceptions and lived experiences. Being exploratory in nature (Neuman, 1997) qualitative research seeks to produce information about a phenomenon in which little is known. In the current study, the researcher used

qualitative method in order to investigate in-depth the livelihood experiences of female and male domestic workers, instead of just observing and describing their situation. Thus, the design made it possible for the researcher to get insightful information from respondents who are knowledgeable about the subject under investigation. It also allowed the respondents to discuss in detail, their personal experiences of domestic work.

### **3.2. Study Site**

The study was conducted in Chelstone in Lusaka, Zambia. This site has an estimated population of 32,382: Male 15,481 and female 16,901 with 6,395 housing units out of Lusaka's estimated population of 13.5 million (CSO Census of Population and Housing Report, 2010). Central Statistics Office (2000) classified Chelstone as one of the areas of medium population densities in Lusaka. This classification tends to designate the chosen research site as a mixed income area. The choice of a mixed income research site is based on the suggestion in the ILO/IPEC's manual on how to find out quickly about domestic labour (1995:35). The manual suggests that for the sake of reliability, a mixed income area would be more representative of the city and would contain a sizeable proportion of domestic workers or invisible workers. As an area of medium population density in Lusaka, domestic service has long been of considerable importance to this township's social and occupational structure. In Chelstone, there is mix of bourgeoisie, petite bourgeoisie of shopkeepers, artisans, and white-collar workers, and a considerable few wealthy or professional individuals.

### **3.3. Population of Study**

In this study, only women and men above 18 years were enlisted, and who are employed as live out domestic workers for wages in Chelstone. This is because the Zambian Constitution and the Employment Act set the minimum age for employment at 15. According to the Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) Order, 2011, the minimum age for admission to domestic work is 15 years (ILO, 2011).

### **3.4. Sample size**

This study enlisted 120 domestic workers of whom 70 were women and 50 were men working as live-out domestic workers in Chelstone. Within this sample, two focus group discussions were held with 16 respondents, that is 9 women and 7 men domestic workers. In order to have the in-depth view of livelihood experiences of domestic workers from a gender perspective, in-depth interviews were conducted with 14 domestics whereas 6 were men and 8 women. 2 key informants of whom 1 from Nkumbo Centre Resource Maid (NCRM) and 1 from the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ) were purposively sampled. Interviewing key informants from NCRM and UHDWUZ for this study is important because these organisations have important information about some domestic workers: they train them and search for employment for them, they bargain for terms of employment and conditions of work for them and have their records.

### **3.5. Sampling Procedure**

In this study, Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) was used since men and women in domestic work are invisible (there is no sampling frame) and are dispersed workers. Respondent driven sampling is a network based sampling technique typically employed for hard-to-reach populations (Heckathorn, 2002; Gile, 2011). RDS involves getting individuals to refer those they know, these individuals in turn refer those they know and so on. To begin the process of sampling and recruitment in this study, the researcher first searched by inquiring at five homes that appeared to be well to do if at all there was a domestic worker. Since the homes in Chelstone are rather close and people in the neighbourhood know each other, the first five domestic workers were used to locate or recruit each, five or so other domestic workers they knew in the neighbourhood of Chelstone. These helped in leading the researcher to recruit members of a study group for focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. While these sounds like snowball sampling, RDS differs from snowball sampling. Unlike snowball sampling where the researcher is referred to one respondent and so on. This recruitment helped access diverse domestic workers in the cohorts.

Therefore, this sampling method is justified in that the researcher wanted to reach the targeted participants to get an in-depth view on domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective in the selected township.

Since the research was using a mixed study, purposive sampling was also used to select key informants as participants for in-depth interviews regarding domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. Purposive sampling was also used to draw the possible domestic workers for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. According to Patton (1990) purposive sampling is a sample selected in a deliberative and non-random fashion to achieve a certain goal. Purposive sampling is the dominant strategy in qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990) and in this study, it was chosen because the researcher sought key informants from Nkumbo Resource Centre Maid (NRCM) and United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ) who were studied in depth.

### **3.6. Data Collection**

#### **3.6.1. Primary and Secondary Sources of Data**

In the current study, primary data was collected from domestic workers and key informants who were part of the sample. In this regard, primary data allowed the researcher to collect data based on the livelihood experiences of female and male live-out domestic workers. Primary data also enabled the researcher to collect insightful information about domestic work from key informants who are knowledgeable about domestic work.

On the other hand secondary data involved published articles, research reports, journals and books mainly from computerised Adobe data base and University of Zambia library's E-journals. Secondary data enabled the researcher to review previous studies carried out on domestic work in Zambia and other parts of the world. In addition, secondary data provided empirical evidence on domestic work. In this regard, secondary data allowed the researcher to find gaps in the existing literature.

### **3.6.2. Data Collection Techniques/Tools**

Data collection techniques involved the use of structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions since the study was mixed in nature.

#### **3.6.2.1. Structured Questionnaires**

Structured questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data from domestic workers. Kvale (1996) asserts that questionnaires are a set of questions for obtaining statistically useful or personal information from respondents. Questionnaires are also a valuable method of collecting a wide range of information from a large number of respondents. In this study, the consent procedure was explained and a request was made whether the respondent would be free to participate in the study by answering a questionnaire on the spot or some other time at a place they deemed appropriate. Each respondent completed the questionnaire alone or helped by the researcher if they had some challenges to answer it. The researcher conducted much of the survey face-to-face in the car just a distant from the premises. If not near the premises, the face to face survey was conducted at the market or shops, or respondents' private homes. This method helped the researcher to obtain statistically useful information about domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective.

#### **3.6.2.2. In-depth Interviews**

Patton (1990) asserts that in-depth interviews is a type of interview which researchers use to elicit information in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the interviewee's point of view or situation. The interview allows the researcher to collect detailed information from participants based on their experiences, views and feelings. In the current research, in-depth interviews were used to solicit in-depth information on the nature of work performed by female and male domestic workers, experiences of domestic workers in gender perspective, and livelihood and coping strategies of female and male domestic workers. Written

informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to the in-depth interviews, emphasizing ethical considerations.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the selected nested sample participants within a few days after completing the survey. Participants for in-depth interviews included respondents who provided peculiar and typical responses in the survey. This was done to create a nested sample that was rather homogenous to provide a wide range of experiences. The researcher conducted much of the one-to-one interviews at one of the private homes of participants. If not at one of the private homes, the one-to-one interviews were conducted in the car just within the premises of one of the participants. As for key informants, the researcher followed them to their working places and conducted interviews in their offices. This method allowed the researcher to ask open-ended questions, probe and ask follow questions in order to solicit for in-depth information from respondents. This method also allowed the research participants to freely express their views, feelings, opinions and share their livelihood experiences in domestic work.

### **3.6.2.3. Focus Group Discussions**

One focus group discussion guide was designed for the two focus group discussions. This was meant to guide the questions during the discussion (Morgan, 2007; Debus and Novelli, 1988). Focus group discussion was chosen as data collection tool because it simultaneously solicits for opinions and experiences of respondents. FGD also offers a certain quality of control, in that; participants provide checks on each other (member checking); excluding extreme or false views (Patton, 1990). Thus FGD was used to collect data and clarify issues emerging from structured questionnaires. This method also enabled the respondents to provide detailed information on domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective.

The focus group discussions for both female and male domestic workers were held on Sunday in the afternoon when the participants seemed to have free time, and at one of the private homes of female and male domestic workers in a network fashion. In the FGD, a team included the researcher who moderated the

discussion and two research assistants (female and male) who helped in taking down notes. The proceedings of the focus group discussions just like that of the in-depth interviews could not be recorded for participants declined to have their voices recorded. Confidentiality was assured and the purpose of the discussion was explained to the participants which enabled them to be as free as possible when discussing.

The questions for the interviews and focus group discussions were translated into Bemba and Chinyanja in order to give research participants an opportunity to express themselves in the language that they understood better, thereafter, translated into English by the researcher for transcription. In order to ensure that the respondents participated in the study, the researcher collected locator information (phone, address, most-frequent hangout place) in order to reach respondents.

### **3.7. Trust Worthiness of Research**

This study employed a mixed methods approach and in order to guarantee readers of this study, two aspects of trustworthiness (considered as validity and reliability) of each paradigm, was considered (Joppe, 2000).

In the quantitative paradigm, in order to ensure that the assumptions the researcher made are correct (for example, the objective of domestic work and livelihood experiences exist or can be explained within the scope of the research), this study developed variables that were measured and were consistent during the piloting and the actual study. All constructs that seemed not to be consistent or unclear were removed at the time of piloting. This guaranteed reliability (Guion et al, 2011). Relating to validity, an adequate sample was enlisted in this study. The fact that respondent driven sampling was used, and embraced critical categories allowed for controlling bias. The reporting of findings employed reliable calculations as well as statistical tests. The analysis did not overlook important features. Finally, the interpretation of the statistical results is correct and relied on  $p$  values which were set at  $< 0.05$  (Joppe, 2000;

Guion et al, 2011).

In a similar manner, in the qualitative paradigm, in order to ensure that the findings are trustworthy, the researcher made effort to establish confidence by making accurate interpretations of the meaning of the data (Carboni, 1995). This corresponds to internal validity in quantitative research. Credibility was achieved by rendering thick descriptions. This involved providing descriptions not only of respondent's' experiences of phenomena but also of the contexts in which those experiences occurred. The researcher ensured that the research had met the criterion of confirmability, which is the counterpart of objectivity. The researcher achieved this by returning to the domestic workers after data analysis in order to verify the technical account (Lincoln and Guba, 2005; Cutcliffe, and Mckenna, 1999).

### **3.8. Data Analysis**

Because the study involves the collection of qualitative and quantitative data, the analysis employed both qualitative and quantitative data analytic methods. Qualitative data was analysed using thematic and content data analysis. Thematic analysis basically refers to topics or major subjects that come out of the interviews or discussion. In this case, this analysis focused on the major themes that are appearing in the research questions and objectives; which are the nature of work performed by female and male domestic workers, experiences of domestic workers in gender perspective and livelihoods and coping strategies of female and male domestic workers. Content analysis rooted in grounded theory as presented by Glaser (1992) and Strauss (1990) was also used to examine the intensity with which certain words had been used in interviews and discussion. The underlying assumption of grounded theory and content analysis is that meaning is constructed through social interaction (Charon, 1979) and it is the meanings of what was done and spoken by the domestic workers that the researcher analysed.

Quantitative data analysis on the other hand was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21 to generate descriptive statistics, and was presented in form of tables and frequencies. SPSS was used to analyse single variables such as age, marital status, sex of respondents and social economic status. This analysis was useful to know the description of domestic workers. Descriptive analysis was helpful to know the age group and sex affected by domestic work, and the extent of the problem of domestic work in Lusaka city.

In addition one of the most basic decisions when using qualitative content analysis is selecting the *unit of analysis*. Weber (1990) consider unit of analysis as parts of the text that are abstracted and coded or every word or phrase written in the transcript (Weber, 1990). In this study, the suggested and most suitable units of analysis were written texts and these are field notes, transcripts and observations. Therefore, coding of data was done manually.

### **3.9. Study Limitations/Challenges experienced during data collection.**

Firstly data was collected in December 2014 and the following month in January 2015 on 20<sup>th</sup>, Presidential by-elections were to be held in Zambia following the demise of the incumbent President Michael Chilufya Sata. During this period political parties were busy campaigning for their preferred candidates. Some opposition parties were conducting door to door campaigns. Therefore respondents construed the researcher to be a politician and campaigning for a certain political party. Hence the researcher had a tough time to convince the respondents that the research was purely academic work, it had nothing to do with political campaigns. Secondly domestic workers are in the hidden, informal and unregulated employment. The researcher had difficulties in interviewing female domestic workers who were usually inside the house and were fearing of coming outside the gates lest they are found by their employers and lose jobs. More so, when conducting in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, domestic workers asked the researcher to give them some money in order to disclose information. Thus, the researcher gave K20.00 to each one of the 30 participants. In spite of these limitations, the research on domestic work and

livelihood experiences from a gender perspective has generated data that could be added to the existing pool of knowledge, and therefore act as a basis for policy and legal frameworks (Oyaide, 2000).

### **3.10. Ethical Considerations**

On the account of the delicate nature of the study which involves invisible domestic workers, the researcher obtained consent to undertake the study from the University of Zambia Ethical committee. Written informed consent was obtained from all participants. Explanations were given that the study was only an academic exercise and a letter of introduction from the Department of Gender Studies, University of Zambia was presented to confirm the above statement. The nature, purpose and benefit of the study were explained to the respondents before conducting interviews. Participants were informed of their rights to or not to participate in the study, hence, participation was voluntary. The respondents were assured that the information they provided would be treated as confidential. Further, they were assured that their original names would not be recorded and disclosed, but pseudo names would be used for confidentiality's sake. Personal details for respondents were left out when designing the questionnaire, the interview guide and the focus group discussion guide in order to keep their confidentiality. The data obtained from the respondents were also kept confidential but the general findings in the study were communicated to them.

### **3.11. Summary**

This chapter has looked at various approaches to research, research methods and justification. A mixed methods study design was used on a sample of 120 of whom 70 were women and 50 men who were selected using Respondent Driven and Purposive sampling techniques. Structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were the data collection methods utilised. Quantitative data was analysed using SPSS Version 21 to generate descriptive statistics while qualitative data was analysed using thematic content analysis. The chapter further looked at trustworthiness and limitations of the study and ethical considerations. The next chapter presents findings of the research study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS**

#### **4.0. Introduction**

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the study on domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. Following the demographic profile, the results in this chapter are organised around the research themes being research questions. The quantitative part is presented first and this is followed by the qualitative part. The qualitative part has two aspects of data presented and this is manifest content (what actually the respondents stated verbatim) can be called 'the original meaning' and latent content (what this implies from the researcher's point of view). There are however, no original meanings (some say descriptions of researchers). However, there are also descriptions, which tend to be personalised by researchers and include the researcher's observations and interpretations. This approach borrows heavily from Wolcott (1994; 1995). The double hermeneutic exemplars in this chapter may vary not only in content but in style too and it is expected in a quantitative research that has a critical approach like this one as observed by Van Maanen (1988). This in essence is double hermeneutics which is a positivist way of amplifying findings and is misunderstood by some as the discussion (Van Maanen, 1988).

Research on domestic work proved to be an arduous task. Most of the respondents were unwilling to be part of the study fearing to be discovered by their employers lest they lose jobs. However, when issues of confidentiality and anonymity were explained to them, the 120 respondents in this study gave consent and all agreed that if the researcher desired to have an interview with them some other time, they would be available. Except for twenty one respondents (to whom fictitious names were given, other respondents were happy to use only their first names in the research without mentioning their last name.

#### 4.1. Demographic Profile

This was a study in which domestic work was predominantly performed by women  $n = 70$  (58.3%) and men  $n = 50$  (41.7%). The sex difference was significant  $p = 0.04$ . The study sample was rather youthful and this is demonstrated by the sample mean age ( $24.9 \pm 4.5$  SD). The mean age for male domestic workers was  $31(1.4 \pm \text{SD})$  and for female domestic workers was  $29 (\pm 3\text{SD})$ . Within the study sample, the youngest was 20 and the oldest was 45. On average, the domestic workers had 3 children. A test of difference in age between male and female students was done using two sample  $t$  test and the outcomes were  $t = 60.1$ ;  $df = 451$ ;  $p = 0.001$ . Most of the domestic workers  $n = 62$  (51.7%) had worked for more than one master before and  $n = 58$  (48.3%) had worked for one master. The mean employable period was two years with a range of six months to eleven years. Thirteen (11%) respondents who were living in maids and worked between 44 to 70 hours per week whereas  $n = 107$  (89%) non-living in maids worked between 45 hours to 55 hours. Typically domestic work was characterised by low education status and poor economic status.

**Table 4.1.1 Demographic profile**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<i>Sex</i>		
Females	70	58.3
Males	50	41.7
<i>First employment (One master)</i>		
Yes	62	51.7
No	58	48.3
<i>Living with Masters</i>		
Yes	21	17.5
No	99	82.5
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Married	78	65
Single	17	14.1
Divorced	20	16.6
Widowed	5	4.1
<i>Parental status</i>		
No Child	26	21.6
Have child(ren)	94	78.4
<i>Level of Education</i>		
Non	13	10.8
Primary	62	51.7
Junior Secondary	35	29.2
Senior Secondary	10	8.3

#### **4.1.2. Knowledge about Work**

There are no formal advertisements of jobs for domestic workers in Chelstone. As such, potential employees come to know about the jobs informally. The most notable ways of getting to know about the job were either through a friend  $n = 54$  (45.0%) and personal efforts  $n = 40$  (33.3%). Occasionally a job would be found through a relative  $n = 20$  (16.7) and maid centre  $n = 6$  (5.0%) (Table 4.1.2).

**Table 4.1.2 Knowledge and acquisition of a job**

<b><i>Manner of finding the job</i></b>	<b><i>Frequency</i></b>	<b><i>Percent</i></b>
Through a friend	54	45.0
Relative	20	16.7
Maid centre	6	5.0
On my own	40	33.3
Total	120	100

Just as friendship networks were central to successful acquisition and maintenance of a job, employers (bosses as they were often referred to domestic workers) constructed and manipulated similar associations of networks. Rural domestic workers were preferred precisely because they were believed to be trusted and could be molded in isolation into new patterns of behaviour. When distant relatives or none relative domestic workers were recruited from the village at least half of these had a contact in service in Lusaka. It must be emphasised that this form of record linkage can only reveal the closest and most obvious potential contacts between domestic workers. The importance of these communication networks is illustrated by the case of three daughters of a rural labourer, all of whom had migrated to Chelstone to enter domestic work in three different households. The eldest, Mercy aged 26, worked in the most affluent household, that of a retired colonel while the youngest sister Judy was employed by a business man adjoining street. The middle sister worked for a single woman of independent means, who was again in her forties, living but rather far off in the same township. It is almost unthinkable that the three sisters did not enter employment in these households through a combination of family, occupational, neighborhood, and social networks.

Mercy gave a description which shows how a friend in town linked with her recommending her for a job and how she became a seed employer for her two sisters.

*"I got this job because a friend connected me to my boss. Looking at how I have worked and having been trusted by my boss, it was possible for me to recommend my two sisters. We are all in Chelstone."*

*"My boss is single and has three older sons...I find work ok and this is one way I contribute to the welfare of my family. Every month at least one of us sends money home to help up with our parents."*

It can, therefore, be seen that there was a shared, normative set of expectations of what was required from domestics—family and relationships. Entering into a service relationship was a crucial survival strategy adopted by poor families. However, the in-depth interviews with key informants revealed that some domestic workers find employment through maid centres. A key informant from a maid centre affirmed that:

*"After training domestic workers, we search for employment for them and then get 50% from the first salary. Afterwards they get their full packages."*

This is in line with the findings by International Labour Organisation (2012) which revealed that some domestic workers enter households as trained maids from maid centres while others as untrained, and this influences their working conditions and remuneration.

#### **4.2. Nature of Work performed by Female and Male Domestic Workers**

This objective was to examine the nature of work performed by female and male in domestic work. In this study, to a greater extent, the jobs that domestic workers perform were gendered. Women's work involved predominantly (most of the times) child minding/ babysitting, general household chores (i.e cooking, cleaning house and utensils, washing, laundry and ironing). Gardening and cleaning the surrounding was one activity which was not expected to be a role that

women could perform. Men's work involved more of washing cars, driving, gardening and cleaning surroundings (Table 4.2.1).

**Table 4.2.1 Job profiles by Gender**

<b>Manner of finding the job</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Child minding/ baby sitting	3 (6%)	48 (68.5%)
Taking care of sick, disabled employer or relative and elderly grandparents	0 (%)	4 (5.7%)
General household chores i.e cooking, cleaning house and utensils, washing, laundry, ironing	8 (11.4 %)	14 (28%)
General driving and errands	1 (2%)	0 (%)
Washing cars and household tasks	24 (48%)	4 (5.7%)
Gardening and cleaning surrounding	7 (14%)	10 (14.2%)
Total	50 (100%)	70 (100%)

#### **4.2.1. Gendered Division of Labour**

The table above suggests that the jobs which were performed by men and women were in some cases gendered. Men were usually allocated outdoor tasks, including watering the garden, raking the leaves, chopping wood and washing cars. Women were allocated indoor tasks such cooking, cleaning house, babysitting, laundry, ironing, cleaning kitchen utensils. The gendered division of labour was clearest when in a home there was man and woman employed as domestics. Grace and George explained that George, the male worker, was responsible for 'the hard jobs that she didn't have to do', such as scrubbing the floors though there were moments that they both crossed jobs.

*"I do protest at times when I am given to wash clothes...I find my bosses pants but for the madam, it is just too much for me to touch them....may be Grace because that is the work of a woman. I am also unlike Jennifer a supervisor and protector of the home when my boss (male boss) is away" (George 28).*

*"Usually George has to do the garden, climb the stairs, scrub walls...but I also do the scrubbing of the walls by getting on the ladder, however most of my job is inside the house such as cooking, taking care of children, laundry, ironing, cleaning the house, clean kitchen utensils... I do lot of work than George you know!" (Grace, 19)*

However, the above table further suggests men and women performed duties which did cut across both sexes, when the gendered patterns of work would be modified from time to time depending on the employer's preferences. There were moments when employers would assign what is considered as women's duties to men (like washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning house) and men's duties to women such as cleaning surrounding, gardening, washing cars, opening gates. Below are illustrations of gender roles and atypical roles.

#### *An atypical role in a woman*

*"I do double work I am the man outside and the woman inside. All the house chores and gardening, I will do them...I wash the family car, water flowers and sweep the surrounding. I clean the house, wash clothes for everyone in the house, iron and wash plates, cook, scrub the walls. I also take care of my boss' lame son, bathing, clothing and feeding him" (Maggie 33).*

#### *An atypical role in a man*

*"I sweep and shine the house and do the garden when all in the house is done...As you can see, I have just come from the nursery to collect the boy at the same time. I wash cars, clean and water surrounding and scrub the walls"(James 30).*

#### *A gender role typical of a female domestic worker*

*"I do not do much work outside the house. Robert takes care of that as for me, I make sure that the house is neat. I sweep and shine, I wash clothes for everyone in the house, iron and wash plates, cook" (Bertha 24).*

#### *A gender role typical of a male domestic worker*

*"I am actually engaged as a garden boy. I manage the yard, clean cars, take care of children by taking them to school and once in a while drive the madam to the farm. I also help out from my own kindness Poline to scrub the walls and cook. As I have said this is not my work" (Robert 21).*

Apart from the differing job types in some cases, there was indeed a sex status difference in the allocation of jobs. In considering the gendered division of labour, one cannot assume that gender played a more important role in some cases than notions of taste and style by employers. Whether you are a man or woman, you could be expected to do any work. Therefore, gender dimension did not affect the allocation of tasks. There were also moments that employers performed some tasks. Mrs Phiri an employer and a housewife was praised by Grace a domestic worker that Mrs Phiri worked hard to demonstrate to them (including Peter the outdoor domestic worker) how to do the work and to make sure that work was done on time. Given that internal contradictions litter even these ideals where an employer becomes the role model, it is likely that in some households tasks were shared between paid domestic workers and wives as well as daughters and sons. Grace, who had been a maid for three years described how she had shared domestic work with Mrs Phiri her married female employer:

*"...she has been a confectioner herself, she sort of does the cooking, I am responsible for it, of course I would peel the potatoes and do all that sort of thing and I get up and lit the fire and make the breakfast... I don't make all the beds, she makes hers and I make the children's... I would sweep the house and do all that sort of thing, I don't do her bedroom...She will be all over checking on me checking on Peter. We both like her because she is able to do our parts."*

When asked if at all they were expected to perform extra duties, such as cleaning shoes for everyone in the family, washing dogs, clean up their mess and cook food for the dogs, flush toilets for employer and everyone in the family especially when there is no water, far less than half  $n = 46$  (38.3%) of the respondents did not think there was performance of extra duties. Cleaning shoes for everyone in the family, washing dogs, cleaning up their mess and cook food for the dogs or other pets happened to be extra duties in  $n = 74$  (61.75) of the cases (Table 4.2.2).

**Table 4.2.2 Performing extra duties**

<b>Extra duty</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Clean shoes for everyone in the family	61	50.8
Wash dogs, clean up their mess and cook food for the dogs	12	10.0
Flush toilets for employer and everyone in the family	1	.8
Non response to these tasks	46	38.3
Total	120	100

Interviews and focus group discussions reviewed that it was not possible to draw a line as to when extra duties would kick in. This is because the respondents never received any type of written or clearly specified job descriptions in writing or orally. Nevertheless, they reported a very strong tradition of using the term ‘general housework’ to refer to paid domestic work. In this sample, only one respondent had a written contract.

Thomas and John speaking about duties in their jobs,said:

*“All housework that is required in the house, for the day, is my responsibility” (Thomas).*

*”My boss does not stick to promises. When I started work, I was given duties to wash clothes, take care of the children and clean the house. After working for one month, she started giving me extra duties like cleaning her bedroom, washing clothes for everyone in the house, gardening, washing cars. I wash pants for my boss and boxers for her husband. I make the bed for them and wash their beddings. Flush toilets if dirty, and make beds for everyone in the house. I also take care of my boss’s sick elderly mother; cooking for her, washing her clothes, bathing her, clothe her. I work as garden boy and maid. I am overloaded with too much work. I get tired. I have no time to rest. I knock off very tired such that I fail to cook food for my children. I have no time to do some other piece work” (John).*

Astridah also used the term “general housework” to refer to her work.

*”We do not sign contracts with our employers. They only give us verbal instructions on the general house work to perform, and rules to follow at work. We take care of old aged parents and lame relatives to our bosses.”*

James lamented as follows regarding housework.

*"We wash underwear, clean shoes for all family members, including underwear for girls doing monthly periods. We clean bedrooms for our bosses. And wash their beddings."*

The understanding of this term 'general housework', was subject to the specific context that applied in the home of their private employers (apart from the routines such as taking children to school, cleaning, food preparation and washing). This meant that each respondent's workload was dependent on whether their respective employers had other personal services workers – such as guards, gardeners, and nannies - or not. In addition, it was influenced by employers' numbers and ages of children, and whether employers had extended family members living in their house or not. The amount and types of work required from workers were also dependent on employers' life style, and the strength of relationships their respective employers had with family, friends and neighbours. Accordingly, the wide application of the term 'general housework' meant that the respondents had no basis to say 'no' or ask for extra payment for jobs, which they considered as outside their duties. Some, who said no to some tasks, had lost their jobs. From the interviews, fear of losing one's job in such incidences was clearly observed. Judy, referring to whether she had refused to do some work said.

*"How can I?"*

The openness of the meaning of 'general housework' also meant that the workers had no grounds to ask for a salary raise in case of additional workload (for example, due to increases in family members).

The meaning of 'general housework' differed also according to the kind of lifestyle their respective employers wanted and could afford to have. For instance, Grace responded that

*"Every Friday her sister comes with her child to spend the weekend ... I have to baby sit her child. They also ask for preparation of a variety of foods ... even the types of foods they have read or heard about."*

Judy also stated that her busy weekend would usually be followed by a lot of cleaning to do on Mondays.

*"I know that come Monday, there will be work. They party and party with friends. The kids too mess up everything".*

A few respondents were also involved in a range of tasks for their employers' friends, neighbours, and relatives; from within their employers' home or in person at their houses.

The above is an example of the form of exploitation that domestic workers might be faced with in their work place. It shows that the abuse of domestic workers in their work place is not something of the past but still exists, even with the new laws and regulations meant to protect domestic workers. It may be hard to monitor the working conditions of domestic workers, leaving domestic workers to be among the most exploited workers in the world (Anderson, 2000; Fish 2006). According to De Waal (2012) conditions of employment are not clearly specified for domestic workers. For example, in this study, domestic workers duties were not clearly outlined for them, resulting in the men and women having a lot of work, some of which they felt they should not be doing.

*"In the morning I had to make their beds...start picking up clothes from the kitchen to the rest of the house...when my employer is sick, she does not mind vomiting on the floor and I have to clean that up...when she goes to the bathroom and uses the toilet, she does not flush, I have to flush..."* (Rose).

*"When starting work, I was told to work outside the house only. But after working for some weeks or few months I am also told to work inside the house in the same salary"* (James).

Therefore, the issue of no clear outline of the men and women's duties added even more to the time they spent at work because employers could simply add further duties when it suited them.

*“Sometimes when you are ready to knock off, my boss would come back and ask me to do certain things for him...this troubles me because he often does this when it is past my knock off time...”* (Richard).

*“My work becomes very hard when the girls are back from university. Because then they use lots of dishes and do not wash them. So I have to repeatedly wash all the dishes they use and sometimes I go home very late because I have to wait for them to finish, then I wash the dishes, since I have to leave everything clean...”* (Precious).

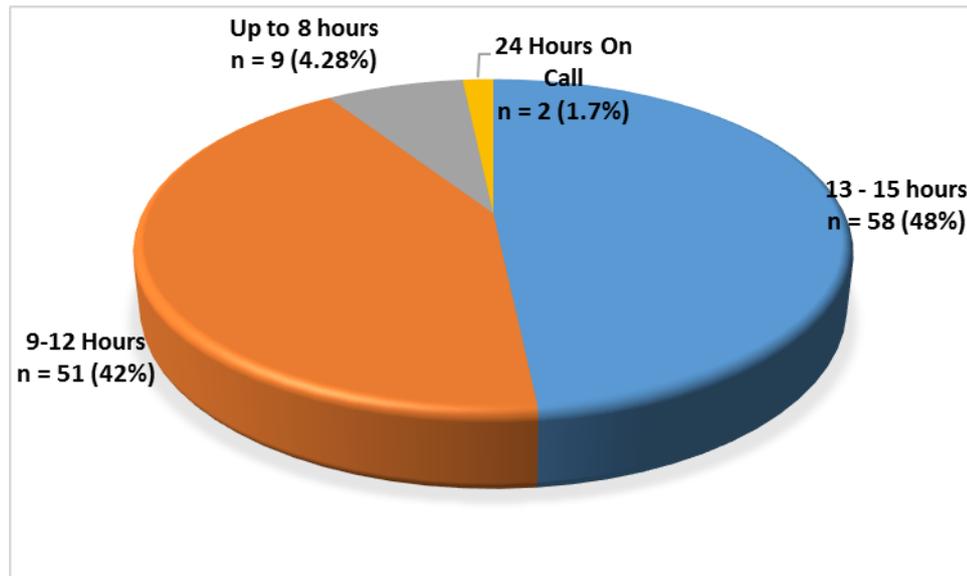
Both the women and men above described instances where they are taken advantage off. This proves to be more than just a misunderstanding of their duties; it talks of an exploitation and mistreatment of some sort. Such behaviour from employers and the rest of the family members may impact negatively on domestic workers, leaving them with feelings of being in-human. A review of international studies on domestic workers shows that there are exploitative attitudes and abusive behaviours present in the employment of a domestic worker and these are common across the globe (Du Preez, Beswick, Whittaker and Dickinson (2010). The expectation of domestic workers to wash underwear for employers and their children, clean shoes for everyone in the family, wash dogs and clean up their mess, flush toilets and cook food for the dogs is tantamount to abusive treatment and slavery (Anderson 2000). This, according to the findings, made domestic workers feel unappreciated, undervalued and unrecognised, which led to feelings of unhappiness and shame with their jobs.

#### **4.3. Experiences of Domestic Workers in Gender Perspective**

This objective was to investigate the experiences of domestic workers in gender perspective. Among the experiences, the following were key variables: hours of work, employee employer relationships, health hazards, sexual harassment and verbal abuse.

#### 4.3.1. Hours of Work

A paltry of respondents  $n = 9$  (4.28%) worked less or normal hours,  $n = 2$  could be called to work for twenty four hours (to sleep at the workplace),  $n = 51$  (42%) worked 9 to 12 hours and  $n = 58$  (48%) worked 13 to 15 hours. It is evident that domestic work is associated with long hours of work (Figure 4.3.1).



**Figure 4.3.1 Profile of hours of domestic work**

Qualitative findings were in agreement with the quantitative data. Findings revealed that domestic workers were still being exploited in their work. When asked to comment on hours of work, nearly every respondent commented on three key issues. Firstly, their contract of employment, which was usually oral, never included any type of agreements or negotiations regarding how many hours a day they were expected to work. Secondly, for them, hours of work meant only the amount of hours they spend on work; with no differentiation between normal hours of work and overtime work. Thirdly, with their understanding of hours of work, respondents explained that their 'hours of work' were determined by the amount and type of housework required to be completed for each working day. Respondents had this to say about hours of work

*"On average we start 06:00 hours and knock off between 17:00-18:00 hours. But we are told by our bosses not to go until they come back. So if they come back from work late, that is the time of knocking off. Hence we end up knocking off 19:00-20:00 hours. Even Saturdays when we are supposed to work half day, we almost work full day as we knock off 14:00-15:00hours, sometimes 16:00hours" (Ricky).*

*"I start work at 07:00hours and finish at 17:00hours without resting. Where I am working right now, work does not finish. I only rest a bit when I am home, though I am still expected to work as a mother and wife at home" (Petronella).*

For some of the respondents, late night work was also experienced when children called-out at night and when family members came home late.

*"...my boss has got a tendency of asking me to spend nights at her place when she needs my services in the night. So if they are in the sitting room watching television, I do not have to go and sleep but to wait until they finish watching television, then I switch off, close doors that is when I go to sleep. I am told to be last to sleep. If they sleep midnight that is the time I am expected to sleep also. When the husband comes back home midnight I have to wake up and open the gate for him, which is very dangerous for me as a female domestic worker..." (Maggie).*

In addition, there was no separation between work on week days and work on Sundays and public holidays. In fact, for most of the participants weekends and public holidays came with more work. Related to this, Bertha stated that

*"It gets busier on weekends as they usually have visitors coming over and the children start to get ready for school – shoes, bags, and school uniforms – on a Sunday afternoon."*

These tasks and conditions were considered a natural duty under 'general housework'; with no consideration for overtime payments or any other additional payments for night work, work on Sundays and public holidays, and any other extra work that was undertaken. Related to this, Thomas stated that when his boss wants him on a public holiday, he has to go.

*“I go to work. I am not allowed to be off during public holidays when I am needed. I am told, am not a civil servant, but domestic worker. So only civil servants are entitled to be off in public holidays. Even on Christmas and New Year, I am expected to work the whole day. This is because there are a lot of people who come for celebrations. But this is good sometimes because we get some gifts and leftovers. In all this work, I am not paid overtime allowances even if I knock off 19:00hours. I have never been paid gratuity or benefits since the time I have been in domestic work. Only one employer gave me Christmas bonus.”*

From the literature reviewed it was evident that domestic workers job descriptions tend to be vague from the onset, with no clear understandings of what and what not to do (Clarke, 2002). This was the case with the women and men in the study they reported that even if there was some form of verbal agreement of their duties; employers did not always adhere to these expectations.

#### **4.3.2. Relations with Employers**

With regard to relationship between employers and employees that existed in domestic. Less than half n = 54 (45%) of the respondents indicated that their relationships with the bosses were either very good or good. In the majority of the cases n = 66 (55%) they were either fair or bad (Table 4.3.1).

**Table 4.3.1 Relations with Employers**

<b>Extra duty</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Very good	6	5.0
Good	48	40.0
Fair	58	48.3
Bad	8	6.6
Total	120	100

One example of poor relationships and inhuman treatment was shown in terms of use of utensils. Data in table 4.3.2 below shows that it was very unlikely that employers and employees could share the same cups. In the sample, n = 16 (13.3%) agreed that they shared cups and other utensils whereas n = 104 (86.75) disagreed.

**Table 4.3.2 Employees sharing cups and utensils with employers**

<b>Extra duty</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	16	13.3
No	104	86.7
Tottal	120	100

A discussion about working relationships with employers for the men and women emerged as an important theme in the interviews and focus group discussions. Besides initiatives taken by the women and men in the study to build and maintain a good relationship with their employers, employers in turn, maintained a sense of distance, isolation and demonstrated inhuman treatment. Most employers did not discuss personal lives with their employees, employees were not allowed to use all the equipment in the house; they were not allowed to sit on sofas but on carpets or on the floor, they were not allowed to watch television or play music. Most employers commanded their employees to eat their foods outside the house. Employees were not allowed to share toilets and bathrooms with employers. This made domestic workers not feel like part of the family. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions further revealed that employers did not allow employees to share cups and plates with them. Both men and women workers were asked to carry their own cups and plates for work.

The female respondents had this to say

*“We are not allowed to sit on their chairs. If we are to sit, it is on the carpet. We are not allowed to watch television or play music. We have no time to rest. We are not allowed to share cups and plates with our bosses. We are told to go to work with our own cups and plates. Bosses are always in bad moods” (Female FGD).*

Male respondents also had this to say

*“Bosses do not allow us to borrow money from them. We are not given permission to take our children to schools, they are supposed to go on their own even if they are very young. Only their children are important to be taken to school, our children are supposed to take care of themselves” (Male FGD).*

In-depth interviews further revealed the power dynamics of employers on employees. This was usually evident when employers addressed workers. Most of the women and men in the study maintained that most of the time communication was not there, especially from their employers.

*“I know my boss by now, when talking to her I can tell if today she is willing to talk or not” (Bertha).*

Bertha mentioned that she has grown immune to her boss’s moods. When asked how this made her feel. Her response was:

*“When I greet her in the morning and notice that she does not want to talk, I just get straight to my work” (Bertha).*

It is evident that employers controlled how much and when to communicate with their workers. When they did not feel like talking they tended to restrict their conversations through one word answers and this was a sign to the worker not to engage further.

*“...you greet her and she just says fine, nothing more...” (Peter).*

Although employers did not communicate well with their workers, the workers talked of how they attempted to be open and talked to their employers whenever something was troubling them, both at work or at home. This shows that communication between workers and employers was one sided.

*“Usually I tell the wife if there are certain things that bother me, at work” (Ruth).*

Ruth talks of how she speaks to her employer whenever something happens that she feels uncomfortable with. Usually this was the case when she felt that she was made to do an unreasonable job, like cleaning her employer’s husband’s underwear, which she deemed unacceptable and degrading. Most of the women felt that, by communicating openly with their employers, they wanted to maintain a good working environment for themselves. However, this was not always the

case. A few of women revealed that sometimes they would talk to their employers and employers would not respond to their requests.

*“Ever since I asked her to not work one weekend per month, she has not responded...maybe she does not want to, because if she did, she would have given me one weekend off already” (Agness).*

Both the women concluded that their employers were uncomfortable with their requests, because they did not respond to them. This lack of response from employers could also be interpreted as a way of maintaining their power over their employees. Although women and men problematised the lack of communication from their employees, many of them still felt that they were treated well.

*“She treats me well, she does not shout at me when I make myself something to eat and she does not get angry” (Mercy).*

All in all, all the women and men said they preferred open communication. However, a relationship between two people of unequal socio-economic statuses may be hard to maintain (Dilata, 2010). This is in line with the literature reviewed which showed that the relationship between domestic workers and their employers is one characterised by inequality (Hickson and Strous, 1993). It is this lack of equality between domestic workers and employers that may allow for exploitation of domestic workers (Hickson and Strous, 1993). According to Anderson (1991), in order for employers and employees to have a successful relationship, they have to ‘bond’. However, the dynamics of the relationship between domestic workers and their employers may be problematic given the class inequalities that define the relationship. Hence, besides initiatives taken by the women and men in the current study to build and maintain a good relationship with their employers, employers maintained a sense of distance. In this regard, domestic workers were subjected to abusive treatment.

Additionally, the issue of food provision is an important one, because it helps define the relationship between the employer and employee (Archer, 2011). It may fulfill an ideological function of inducing feelings of gratitude and

faithfulness on the worker (Hickson and Strous, 1993). In the current study, there were variations in terms of relations as far as food is concerned. Some respondents were given food and treated equitably while others were not.

Ruth and Peter observed

*“I am not allowed to eat breakfast. Not to take tea and eat bread. If I ask for tea, they put sugar for me in the cup and give me one slice of bread to eat – that means I am lack that day. I am given beans, rape and nshima for lunch. When I am about to knock off, that is when I am given meat or chicken to cook for them for super. I do not have to test the food I am cooking for them” (Ruth).*

*“I am not given food at work. I work on an empty stomach. Imagine you are cooking food for people and they do not allow you to eat. I am told the money am paid is part of the food, so am supposed to buy my own food at work, but am not given free time to go and buy food” (Peter).*

However, Gertrude boasted of her boss in the area of food and remarked

*“...I eat anything that everyone else is eating, whether eggs or Russians.”*

George agreed with Gertrude and observed

*“She treats me well, she does not shout at me when I make myself something to eat and she does not get angry. I think it is just a question of humanity and trust.”*

In addition, some domestic workers revealed that their employers gave them some food to take home and some clothes, and thus their employers treated them well. However, according to Dilata (2010), employers gave food and other things to their workers because they knew that they were paying them a lower salary than what they should be paying them. The one-sided gift giving reinforces power differentials between employers and domestic workers and places domestic workers under a further sense of obligation (Bakan and Stasiulis, 1997; Lau, 2010; Rollins, 1985; Romero 1992). In contrast Chin (1998) asserts that the offering of gifts may be a way of employers trying to instill a sense of appreciation from domestic workers, by amplifying the faults of other employers, implying that

the domestic worker has a good position with them and would be foolish to go seek work elsewhere and risk bad treatment.

On further experiences, some of the men and women reported that they were not helped when sick and that their bosses were very inconsiderate.

Ruth had this experience

*“My boss used to give me bed rest when I am sick but was not allowed to be off during public holidays. If I go to the clinic, from there I am expected to get back to work. Most of the time when I tell my boss that I am sick, she just gives me Panadol and tell me to continue working. If I tell her about bed rest, she refuses or tell me to quit job. She likes tell me that “when I am sick I go to work but you, you want to be on sick leave.”*

Maggie narrated

*“I am not given sick leave or bed rest when I am sick. I am HIV positive and when I supposed to go to the clinic to collect ARVs my boss does not give me permission or a day off. I am told to stop work If I know I have a condition. So I just send one of my children to collect ARVs for me, in fear of losing the job.”*

Luke affirmed his sickness experience regarding his boss

*“When I am sick, my boss gives me Panadol, and tells me to continue working. When I report that my daughter is sick and I need to take her to the clinic, she tells me to take her after work. If I report for work late because of taking one of my children to the clinic or myself, she deducts a certain percentage from my salary. As far as she is concerned a houseboy does not get sick. Children of the houseboy are supposed to take care of themselves even if they are young.”*

The experiences above show a pattern which is commonly placed pointing to treatment of inhumanly by employers (Hickson and Strous, 1993) a feature demonstrating domestic workers having been reduced to a labour unit rather than a person (ILO 2011; Human Rights Watch, 2006).

### 4.3.3. Health Hazards

In this study men and women were asked to indicate what health hazards they may have suffered from which were related to work. In the sample, more than three quarters of domestic workers had suffered from fatigue and headache due to long working hours and lack of sleep. Very few suffered from injuries or wounds from hot pans and irons, knives, hoes, coughs; and respiratory problem from toxic household chemicals, heavy loads as well as back pain due to awkward posture and monotonous and heavy physical work (table 4.3.3).

**Table 4.3.3 Health Hazards**

<b>Extra duty</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Fatigue and headache by long working hours and lack of sleep	89	74.2
Injuries or wounds from hot pans and irons, knives, hoes etc	10	8.3
Coughs and respiratory problem from toxic household chemicals, heavy loads	1	.8
Back pain by awkward posture and monotonous and heavy physical work	20	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100</b>

When an association test was done to establish gender as a factor, it was evident that gender was significantly associated with health hazards with mostly men being affected compared to women ( $\chi^2$  obs = 21.259; df =8 and p = 0.006).

From the literature, it is evident that domestic workers experience health problems (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007; Mkandawire-Valhmu, 2010). Domestic workers may be subjected to certain health problems like high blood pressure, stress and illness, due to long working hours, the nature of their jobs and low pay. In its report on the situation of domestic workers, Human Rights Watch (2006) revealed that due to exploitation and the fact that domestic workers often feel as if they are not good enough or inhuman, they might lose self-esteem and this may impact badly on their mental health. During the interviews in the current study, a discussion about the nature of the work and abusive experiences emerged. Many of the women and men said that due to their work load,

combined with isolation at the workplace and the fact that they earned a very low salary - leading to financial pressures they often found themselves being stressed about how to make ends meet. One woman said that she was diagnosed with high blood pressure because of the stress associated with working for such a low salary.

*“Due to the low pay, my blood pressure would rise, because now I’m stressed about money and what to do with the money” (Maggie).*

In addition to feeling stressed and complaints about high blood pressure, many of the women and men complained about hot pans and irons, knives, hoes, rakes, that they had to use every day. These items caused injuries or wounds especially in their hands. They also complained of coughs and respiratory problem from toxic households’ chemicals and heavy loads. The many women and men further complained of fatigue and headache by long working hours and lack of sleep. They also complained of having back-pains and swollen feet and arms, which were due to long working hours of cleaning, washing and moving heavy things around the house.

*“I have a dislocation to my left arm, because of overloads,” but I have to continue working to provide for my children and husband, since my husband is not in employment” (Lydia).*

*“My feet get swollen, and then I have to walk a long distance from Kamanga to Chelstone Palm Drive. I also have to stand the whole day at work and walk back home again. This is unbearable. But again I can’t quit my job, I have a family to look after. I am a father, husband and breadwinner of my family” (John).*

Illness is one of the many challenges that domestic workers were faced with due to the nature of their work and abusive treatment. However, staying at home with no form of income also impacted on the health of these women and men, because this meant that the families were likely to starve. And this kept them in exploitative working conditions. According to Mkandawire- Valhmu (2010), the employment of domestic workers is said to remove domestic workers from health hazards of poverty. However, the women and men in this study still experienced ill-health of poverty despite being employed.

#### 4.3.4. Sexuality and the Domestic Worker

In this study, more women were said to be more sexually abused or harassed by their employers than men (table 4.3.4.1).

**Table 4.3.4.1 Sexual Harassment**

<b>Sexual Harassment</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Female	103	85.8
Male	17	14.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100</b>

From the literature, it was evident that domestic workers were probably the most exposed to sexual harassment and rape, and that women were more common to be abused (Nandy, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2007). 60 percent of males had their first sexual experience with domestic workers (Boyden, Ling, and Myers 1998, 38). Over 20 percent of women domestic workers said they had been forced or tricked into sexual intercourse, and many others reported having been sexually abused in other ways (Nandy, 2010). More than 15 per cent of domestic workers who had changed their employers had done so because of sexual harassment or abuse (Human Rights Watch, 2004). In the current study women as domestic workers were employed in the more intimate roles that took them inside the bosses' home where there was a man who interacted with them. This was a recipe of sexual threat. Self-control of some male bosses was not inherent and that sexual aggression was present from the man's make-up. One worrying instance involved Fostina.

*"I was almost raped by my male boss. He told me to sweep the bedroom. He pretended to have gone for work. Within few minutes, I saw him coming back entered the bedroom, started stripping me off, saying if you shout I will kill you. When I resisted, he told me to take off my clothes own my own. He is one of the big big bosses in government, so he threatened me that I cannot take him anywhere. He told me if I do not take off the clothes myself he would report me to the Police. When I refused, and managed to leave the bedroom, he chased me with dogs. I run to Ben Mwiinga Police Station to report the matter, because he even grabbed my National Registration Card, which was given back to me later. It took almost a month to be given back the NRC."*

Ruth had this to tell from her first job

*"My female boss went to work. Her husband called me in the bedroom. When I went there, he asked me to have sex with me promising to give me good money. I refused, so he beat me up and told me to quit job, and that I should not tell his wife. That is how I left work."*

One male domestic worker narrated

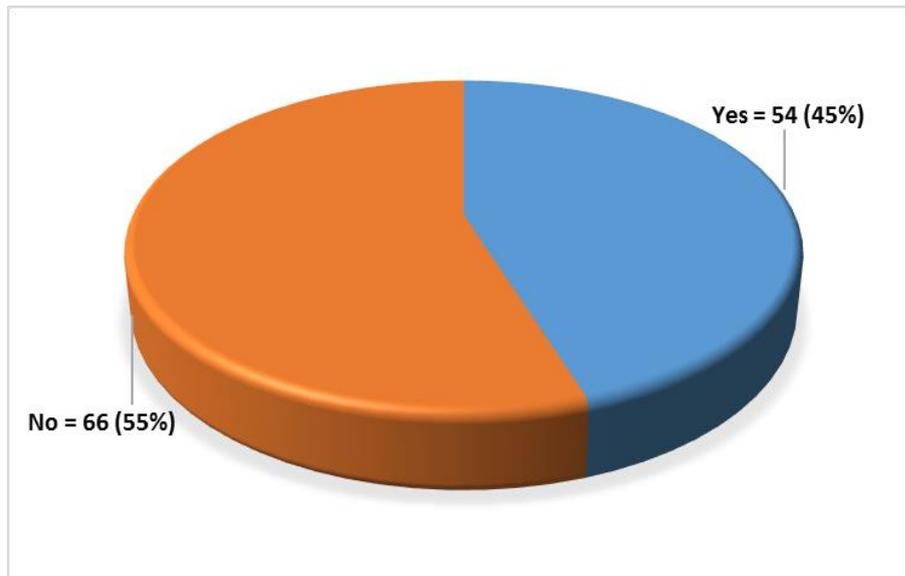
*"I was approached by my boss to bear children with her because she claimed the husband could no longer give her children...I made a mistake one day....I beat a child and my boss (the madam) wanted to fire me but I told her that I will spill the beans .... Any way it is one of those things in life. I do not believe her claims about the husband."*

Findings further revealed that women employers were known to not trust their female workers fearing that their husbands were prone to seduction. For instance Peggie narrated her experience when her female boss made sure she prevented her from seducing her husband:

*"I am given instructions by madam that if I am in the kitchen and her husband comes in, I have to move to the girls bedroom. If I am in the sitting room cleaning and her husband comes there, I have to go outside. When he goes to work, that is when I am allowed to work in the house. Evenif I am cooking food for her husband and he happens to come back home I have to stop cooking and go outside. She makes sure that the food I cook is seen o be her product. So I cook foods before her husband comes back home. I am not even allowed to talk to him even greeting him in her absence."*

#### **4.3.5. Verbal Abuse**

Figure 4.3.2 below is a profile of verbal abuses. In n = 66 (55%) of the instances, the respondents did not experience any verbal violence whereas in n = 54 (45%) of the instances, respondents did experience verbal abuse. There was, however, no statistical association of verbal abuse by gender since  $p$  was  $> 0.05$  ( $\chi^2= 0.73$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p = 0.76$ ).



**Figure 4.3.2 Verbal abuses**

Verbal abuse was another allegation that came up more than once in the interviews. Incidences of verbal abuse were in many forms including nagging and demeaning. It was also observed that most of the respondents found it challenging (were emotional) to discuss such issues. Moreover, a few of them viewed it as natural in their work situation and seemed to accept it. Some respondents spoke about how they were affected by the reprimands of their bosses if they did not achieve production targets.

James narrated his experiences:

*“My boss scolds me many times. I do make mistakes, I might have missed something and sent [the garment] to the laundry without checking the pockets. I have felt bad many times, I have cried, sometimes at night I don’t get sleep. I feel so bad.”*

George indicated his concerns following verbal abuses

*“Whatever goes missing in the house or yard, the first suspect is a domestic worker. We still keep quiet, if you complain they will threaten to chase you.”*

Jenifer narrated her experience:

*"On 1<sup>st</sup> March 2015 I did not go for work because I was not feeling well. When I went back to work the following day, my boss shouted at me saying that "Komboni" people you are used to suffering, I am helping you but you are becoming silly. You want to continue suffering that is why you did not come for work yesterday. She claims I do not know how to clean the house. But she leaves me to do every work."*

Ruth complained:

*"They insult us. They do not respect us. They say we are not educated. They treat us like animals."*

Luke also supported Ruth

*"I am insulted nearly every day. When I wash the plates, I am told they are not clean. I clean the house – I have not cleaned it well. When washing clothes, I am given soap in the cup with a lot of clothes and expect them to be clean."*

#### **4.4. Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Female and Male Domestic Workers**

The objective of the third research question was to establish the livelihood and coping strategies of female and male domestic workers. Livelihood meant a way of survival and this relates to reasons or motives for engaging in domestic work, earning an income and using this income for survival (ILO 2012).

##### **4.4.1. Reasons for Becoming a Domestic Worker**

The men and women were asked what the reasons were for becoming a domestic worker. The predominant reason for engaging in domestic n = 114 (95.0%), was poverty, few n = 4 (2.3%) were due to lack of education and n = 2 (1.7%) the need to look after the children (Table 4.4.1).

**Table 4.4.1 Reasons for seeking domestic work**

<b>Reasons for becoming a domestic servant</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
I am poor	114	95.0
I am not educated	4	2.3
I need to look after my children	2	1.7
Total	120	100

There were very interesting revelations from the qualitative interviews. There were a number of situational reasons for engaging in domestic work. Nearly every respondent cited personal or family based poverty. Some got into this work due to orphanhood, to help husbands and to solve personal problems. Some started work as adults (over 18 years) and most of them began as child labourers. The testimonies below affirm these positions.

#### *4.4.1.1. Orphanhood*

Ruth gave a moving testimony of her trajectory from 10 years to 19 years.

*“I started working as a maid in 2006 at that time I was just 10 years. I had nowhere to get support after the death of my mother and father.....”*

#### *4.4.1.2. Solving Personal problems*

Gertrude started working as a domestic worker when she was 20 years old.

*“I engaged myself in domestic work because I have to help my younger brother with school fees....”*

Prudence started work because her husband was not helpful

*“My husband never used to take good care of me. He never used to buy me clothes and send his children to school. He only used to pay rentals. So I decided to start working as a domestic worker in order to pay school fees for my children, buy my own clothes and that of the children, and food.”*

Luke who is the first born in a family of five started working as a garden boy when he was 16 years old (now 25) following a broken family.

*I settled to do piece works because my dad got imprisoned. This was a result of too many problems at home. My dad was imprisoned for selling game meat. So I was left with the responsibilities of helping mum paying rentals and buying food and clothes, paying bills for water and electricity etc.*

#### 4.4.1.3. Family based poverty

George started working as a domestic worker because the family was not supportive of his desire to go to school.

*“I come from a poor family who cannot manage to pay my school fees. So whatever money I get from domestic work I sponsor myself to school. I am doing evening classes at Munali High School. Right now I am in grade 12.”*

#### 4.4.1.4. Helping husbands

Maggie stated working as a domestic worker because of helping the husband who was in seasonal business.

*“My husband is a builder, he does piece works. In the rain season construction business is very difficult so my husband just stays home. So it becomes my total responsibility to pay rentals, buy food, pay school fees for children etc.”*

It is evident from the presentations above that personal and non-personal facts are critical in some people to engage in domestic work. A framework below depicts the constructs in form of categories that are identifiable as motives or reasons for getting into domestic work (Table 4.4.2).

**Table 4.4.2 Conceptual Framework of Motives for Domestic Work**

<i>Motives</i>	Domestic work
Orphanhood	
Family based poverty	
Solving Personal Problems	
Helping Husbands	

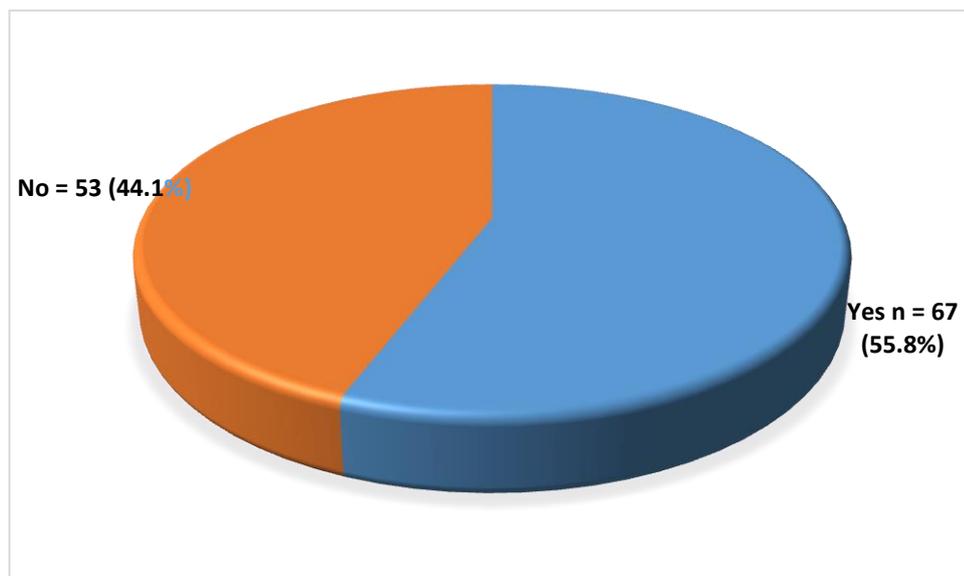
#### 4.4.2. Income

Income was the second dimension of livelihood. In spite of the fact that there is a law setting the minimum wage for domestic workers, and given the wage bands in table 4.2, which show incomes domestic workers claimed they got, about more than half  $n = 78$  (65%) were getting below the minimum wage (K520.00) as compared to  $n = 39$  (32.5%) who were getting above the minimum wage (table 4.4.3).

**Table 4.4.3 Salary profile**

<b>Income</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
K300-K400	32	26.7
K400-K500	46	38.3
K500-K600	20	16.7
K600-K700	7	5.8
ABOVE K700	12	10.0
NON RESPONSE	3	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The domestic workers received their wages invariably. Just over half  $n= 67$  (55.8%) received their wages in full and on time whereas  $n = 53$  (44.1%) did not receive their wages in full and on time (figure 4.4.1).



**Figure 4.4.1 Salary payment in full and on time**

The income distribution showed no statistically significant association by gender ( $\chi^2$  obs= 7.138; df = 10 and p = 0.712) both female and male domestic workers were poorly paid.

Many men and women complained that their employers were unreasonable in deciding how much they should earn. Their employers often knew their home situations, living conditions and how many children they had, yet they still chose to pay low salaries even when the minimum wage was fixed.

*“Sometimes she comes to my home... she sees how tough my situation. But she pays me K400.00. The money is too little but what can I do, I have a family to look after” (Bertha).*

Like Bertha, Peter also said that his employer had lots of money, he was a business man, yet he did not want to pay him more money and on time. He felt this was unreasonable because it is not that he could not afford to pay him.

*“I am paid K350.00per month yet my boss has got alot of money. On top of that he delays in paying me. When its monthend I just remind my boss to pay me. He claims that he forgets” (Peter).*

Petronella supported

*“I am not given salary on time. Sometimes I am paid on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the month.”*

Joshua narrated

*“These people do not want to give us more money, they want the money for themselves, you see. I get K450.00. And this is the highest salary I get from the time I started working as a domestic worker. You know madam!.. I am not educated, and this is the only source of income I have. So I just keep on working even though I know that the salary is not enough to cater for my life necessities.”*

Few of the respondents experienced any type of bonuses either in cash or in kind. For instance, Grace stated that

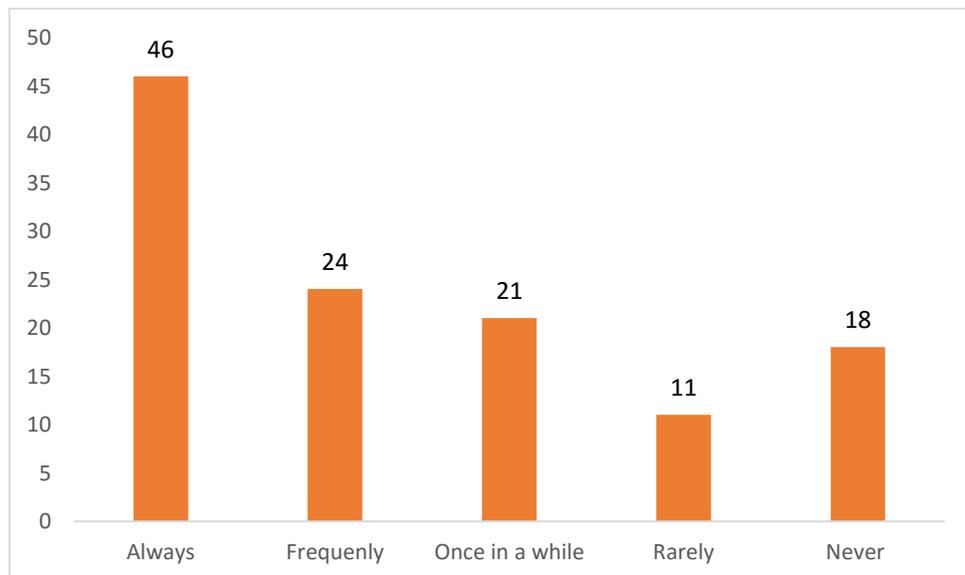
*“She never gave me any extra pay other than my monthly wage ... except one time she gave me two pairs of shoes for my baby girl, who lives with my mother.”*

Purity had a different story

*"I am paid in full, but salary is not enough to cater for all the necessities of life. I have the responsibility of taking care of my brothers and sisters and other extended family members."*

These experiences reflect what researchers like Clarke (2002) found about what domestic workers often feel. They believe that their employers can afford to pay more considering their high standard of living and the number of vehicles they have. The women and men in this study appeared to feel exploited by their employers.

Apart from irregular and untimely payments, respondents were concerned about deductions. In this study, n = 46 (38.3%) indicated that they experienced deductions always, n = 24 (20%) had experienced deductions frequently, n = 21 (17.5%) had experienced deductions once in a while, n = 11 (9.1%) had experienced deductions rarely and n = 18 (15%) had never experienced any deductions. This shows that deductions were a common occurrence (Figure 4.4.2).



**Figure 4.4.2 Frequency of Deductions**

When asked some of the problems they faced relating to salaries, here were numerous experiences which affected their livelihoods.

*"Sometimes my boss deduct my salary when I break kitchen utensils or fail to go to work. One day, I went to Kabwe to attend the burial for my late brother. She deducted K100 from my salary citing that I did not work for that day" (Mary).*

*"One day I accidentally left the hot iron on the carpet, so the carpet got burnt. I was shouted at, and was told to chose either to buy a new carpet or deduct K200.00 from my salary for one year" (John).*

From these experiences, domestic work is linked to numerous legal violations and that the work is not that decent work and does not pay well (Risman, 2004)

#### **4.4.3. Using Income for Survival**

Relating to the uses of wages, domestic workers indicated several livelihood uses but most of them were concerned about basic needs even though the amounts were described to be very low. Even though they got very little and in their own sufferings, these workers had a world of their own and dreams for themselves and their children in the future. Despite their current living conditions these workers had positive hopes for the future.

*"When I get paid I buy some of the building materials...cement and blocks. What you see here is my small house...." (Grace).*

John struggled to survive while his two children went to school. One of the major reasons why most men and women enter domestic work is to provide for their children and also secure their future.

*"I paid for my children's education from primary...up until college. The other one is working now"....But if it was not for overtime, I would not have made it. I ask my boss if at all I could work on public holidays and weekends" (John).*

The consequences of earning a low salary, pay in installments and deductions to pay were dire for the women and men. They had to make difficult livelihood choices for survival. During focus group discussions and In-depth interviews participants gave the following responses.

*"Most of the time we eat vegetables and kapenta because the salaries we get go to paying rentals. We fail to buy even our own clothes or eat well. Even our children complain that we work but we can't buy them good relish like chickens and meat. We only eat chickens on Christmas and Newyear. This is not an easy way of living..."* (FGD).

*"As I am talking right now, my 8 years old first born son is not yet in school. I am still serving money for his uniforms, books and other school requirements. I spend the little money I get to paying rentals and school fees for my children. So buying foods and clothes is a challenge"* (James).

*"The little money I get is used to paying rentals, buy a bag of mealie meal, a bottle of cooking and charcoal. Food is struggling. We most of the time eat rape, beans and kapenta. I stay in a house where there is no electricity because we cannot manage to pay for electricity bills"* (John).

#### **4.4.4. Coping Strategies**

Coping was assessed in three areas and these are: work, relationship/negative experiences and finances. Relating to coping with work overload, most of the respondents n = 110 (91.7%) were off on Saturday and Sundays or worked half day on Saturdays and were off on Sundays. A paltry of them n = 10 got leave and suffered by knocking off on time (table 4.4.4).

**Table 4.4.4. Coping with Work Overloads**

<b><i>Coping with work overload</i></b>	<b><i>Frequency</i></b>	<b><i>Percent</i></b>
Off Sundays/Saturdays	41	34.2
Work half day Saturdays and off Sundays	69	57.5
Knock off on time	1	.8
Given leave	9	7.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

However, there was an association with type of work coping behaviour with gender since  $p$  was  $> 0.05$  ( $\chi^2_{\text{obs}} = 11.715$ ;  $df = 4$  and  $p = 0.020$ ). This indicates the observance of the law on public holidays and on hours of rest was one of the ways of coping with the arduous job of a domestic worker. More men were off on Saturdays and Sundays than women who worked half day on Saturdays and were off on Sundays.

Regarding to coping with relationship/negative experiences (mistreatment, abusive conditions of work, sexual harassment, verbal abuse), most of the respondents who had strained relationships or where abused or subjected to inhuman treatment,  $n = 89$  (74.1%) did nothing about their situation,  $n = 20$  (16.6%) shared with friends and family for advise  $n = 52$  (43.3%), the rest and a paltry  $n = 11$  (9.1%) threaten to report to police or Report to employers relatives, husband/wife, friends and or abandoned work (Table 4.4.5).

**Table 4.4.5. Coping with relationship/negative experiences (mistreatment, abusive conditions of work, sexual harassment, verbal abuse)**

<b><i>Coping with negative experiences</i></b>	<b><i>Frequency</i></b>	<b><i>Percent</i></b>
Threaten to report to police	4	3.3
Report to employers relatives, husband/wife, friends	2	1.6
Share with friends and family for advise	20	16.6
Abandon work	5	4.1
Do nothing about it	89	74.1
Total	120	100

Regarding to coping with financial challenges  $n = 20$  (16.7%) engaged in small scale business,  $n = 37$  (30.8%) did part time jobs,  $n = 59$  (49.2%) survived on credits,  $n = 4$  (3.3) had husband/wife's monthly salary or business.

**Table 4.10. Coping with financial challenges**

<b><i>Coping with financial challenges</i></b>	<b><i>Frequency</i></b>	<b><i>Percent</i></b>
Engage in small scale business	20	16.7
Part time job	37	30.8
Get credit	59	49.2
Husband/ wife's monthly salary or business	4	3.3
Total	120	100

Interviews and discussions rendered varying experiences of adaptations in response to situations that put their adaptive capacities to work to test. Three coping strategies were evident in the discussions and interviews and these were (a) problem-focused coping, which refers to the efforts to do something active to alleviate stressful circumstances and they are directed at altering the situation that is causing distress, directing attention toward the problem in an effort to prevent or control it (Lazarus and Folkman 1980;1986; Zeidner and Endler, 1996) (b) Emotion-focused coping which is directed at managing distress rather than changing the problem situation. This category included: eating, drinking, smoking, using drugs or medication, or sleeping. The individual seeks to divert attention from the stressful situation, and to disengage mentally from it (Lazarus and Folkman 1980; 1986; Zeidner and Eindler, 1996) and (c) coping through social support which included an individual inclining to seek out and interact with others. In general, there were benefits of social support that included desire for practical, material help and emotional support (Lazarus and Folkman 1980; 1986).

Some coping mechanisms were beneficial while others were not. Active coping strategies are considered as adaptive, while avoidance coping strategies are maladaptive (Cronkite and Moos, 1984; Felton and Revenson, 1984). The following are the responses to coping strategies.

*“I know my boss by now, when it comes to work and I want to talk to her that I am tired or I may not come for overtime. When talking to her, I can tell if today she is willing to talk or not. When she is not, I keep a distance” (Luke).*

Luke mentioned that he had grown immune to her boss’s moods. When asked how this made her feel. His response was:

*“When I greet her in the morning and notice that she does not want to talk, I just get straight to my work.”*

Prudence opts to sleep and meet with other domestic workers while Lameck is compelled to seek some drug or medication to help with sleep and go out with friends for a drink up to overcome emotion-focused problems faced with in

domestic work, like pressure, insults and challenges to meet the daily family needs.

*“My colleagues and I have said when we meet and share our sorrows we are our biggest support, turning to each other for help with any issue....We are all there for each other. We sort out our problems and there’s always somebody there. We get on well that way. Everyone sticks together. Everyone supports everyone. If you’ve got a good working relationship with other domestic workers it’s quite effective. You are among friends” (Prudence).*

*“Sometimes you get forced to seek some drug or medication to help with sleep and go out with friends for a drink up to overcome the problem” (Lameck).*

While a relationship between two people of unequal socio-economic statuses may be hard to maintain. Some domestic workers were bolder and franker than others. For instance Marvis and Bertha had the courage to confront their situations.

*“When I experienced sexual harrassment by my boss’s husband, that is when he proposed love to me. I told his wife. The wife confronted him and he stopped. I also quit job...” (Marvis).*

*“When my boss’ husband asked to have sex with me and give me alot of good. I threatened him to tell his wife and his in-laws. Most of the time I share my abusive treatments with my friends and relatives” (Bertha).*

Like Marvis and Bertha, Maggie talked of how she spoke to her employer whenever something happened that she felt uncomfortable with. Usually this was the case when she felt that she was made to do an unreasonable job, like washing her employer’s husband’s underwear, which she deemed unacceptable and degrading.

*“Usually I tell the wife if there are certain things that bother me, at work,” like I told her to stop giving me underwears for her husband to wash. I said it was a taboo in our Bemba culture.”*

Most domestic workers also believed that by talking they freed themselves from being oppressed.

*"I sat down with him and asked to not work on Saturdays because I get really tired from the work, and having only Sunday off, I do not get to rest properly" (Peter).*

For Peter this proved that, by talking workers could work and solve some of the issues they might be faced with at work. Most of the women and men said that in order to work satisfactory jobs, workers should talk of the things that bothered them.

Regarding coping with financial challenges, Richard and Lydia lamented about low salaries and Richard had to compliment his deficit by borrowing and doing piece work while Lydia by having a relationship.

*"I survive on credits. I also do piece work on Sundays when I am off. Hence my friends and I do not rest. We work throughout the week" (Richard).*

*"I cannot try to do business. I do not have capital. My salary is too small for that. In fact salaries get finished before being paid. How do you get capital from it? Our boy friends who are garden boys help but in a very small way. They do not have enough money to give us, since they also get peanuts" (Lydia).*

However, John among three others opts to give in to their situations because of financial challenges and fear of losing jobs.

*"I was being underpaid in my first job despiting my boss having alot of money. He was a business man. I had the pressure of putting my two children in school so I ended up stealing tires from my boss' car" (John).*

*"I can't survive by depending on the poor salary I get. I have tried to ask my employers to increase my salary but they refuse so I steal hoes, shelves, rakes and other small items, then sell them and have extra income to sort out my problems"(James).*

*"My female boss is very economical, she doesn't give me food at work, instead she tells me to carry my own food, when she knows very well that she pays me little money and skips sometimes. So I steal some foods like sugar, salt, cooking oil, relish etc" (Mercy).*

#### **4.5. Summary**

From the presentation of research findings above, it is clear that the gender dimension is prominent in the manner that tasks are allocated among domestic workers. Men are usually allocated outdoor tasks, including washing cars, gardening and cleaning surroundings, driving and security services. Women are allocated indoor tasks such cooking, cleaning house, babysitting, laundry, ironing, cleaning kitchen utensils. However, the aspect of gendered division of labour is not a universal phenomenon. Some employers allocate jobs which cut across both sexes depending on the employer's preferences, and this is often the case among domestic workers who are classified as 'general workers.' Experiences of domestic workers with their jobs are largely negative. They recounted long hours of work, sexual harassment, verbal abuse, poor health consequences, low salaries and unequal relationships with employers. Gender was significantly associated with poor health outcomes with men being mostly affected compared to women except for sexual harassment where women were the most victims. It is also clear that domestic workers find ways to cope and deal with their negative experiences at work. Most of them do nothing to ease their situation and enhance their livelihood. Some of them, however, shared their predicaments with friends, family members, the police and employers' significant others. A few opt to quit their employment under undesirable conditions of work. With regard to coping with financial challenges, most domestic workers engaged in small businesses, debts, sexual relationships and stealing.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

The aim of this study was to investigate domestic work and livelihood experiences in Zambia from a gender perspective. Specifically, the study was designed to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What is the nature of work performed by female and male domestic workers?
- 2) What are the experiences of domestic workers in gender perspective?
- 3) What are the livelihood and coping strategies of female and male domestic workers

The answers to the research questions are presented below:

To the first research question “What is the nature of work performed by female and male domestic workers? To a greater extent, the jobs that domestic workers perform are gendered. Women’s work involved predominantly child minding/ babysitting followed by general household chores such as cooking, cleaning house and utensils, washing, laundry, and ironing. Men’s work was more of washing cars, gardening and cleaning surroundings, driving and security services and other household tasks. However, there were times when men and women performed duties which did cut across both sexes, when the gendered patterns of work would be modified. This was often the case especially with domestic workers who were classified as general house workers. These types of workers would perform jobs according to the employer’s preferences. There were many incidences when employers would assign what is considered as women’s duties to men (like washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning the house) and men’s duties to women (like cleaning surrounding, gardening, washing cars, opening gates). The term ‘general housework’ meant that the workers could not refuse any kind of work assigned to them or ask for extra payment for jobs which they considered as outside their duties. Some workers who refused some tasks lost their jobs.

To the second research question “What are the experiences of domestic workers in gender perspective?” There were largely negative experiences that were recounted which included long hours of work, sexual harassment, verbal abuse, health hazards and unequal relationships with employers (interpersonal as well as those related to the means of production). The study found that there was violence, exploitation and inhuman treatment. 45% of the domestic workers indicated that their relationships with the bosses were either very good or good. In the majority of the cases 55% they were either fair or bad. The study further found that gender was significantly associated with poor health consequences with men being mostly affected compared to women ( $p = 0.006$ ), except for sexual harassment where women were the most victims. There was, however, no statistical association of verbal abuse by gender ( $p = > 0.05$ ).

Regarding the third research question “What are the livelihood and coping strategies of female and male domestic workers? The study found that poverty was the main reason for engaging in domestic work (95.0%), whereas few were due to lack of education (2.3%). In spite of the fact that there is a law setting the minimum wage for domestic workers, more than 65% were getting below the minimum wage as compared to 32.5% who were getting above the minimum wage. Income distribution showed no statistically significant association by gender ( $p = 0.712$ ) both female and male domestic workers were poorly paid. The consequences of earning a low salary, pay in installments and deductions to pay made women and men to make difficult livelihood choices for survival.

The study found that these respondents were strained and stressed from both work and the relationships which existed between them and their employers. In terms of coping strategies which were resulting from work overload, 91.7% were off on Saturday and Sundays or worked half day on Saturdays and were off on Sundays. There was an association with type of work overload coping behaviour with gender ( $p = 0.020$ ). More men were off on Saturdays and Sundays than women who worked half day on Saturdays and were off on Sundays. Relating to coping strategies which were resulting from relationship/negative experiences (sexual harassment, verbal abuse, mistreatment, abusive conditions of work), the respondents displayed a sense of helplessness, despair

and isolation. Most of them (71.4%) indicated that they could do nothing to ease their situation and enhance their livelihood. Some of them shared their predicaments with friends (16.6%), and family members (43.3%). However a partly (9.1%) threatened to report to the police and employers' relatives, husband/wife. A few opted to quit their employment under undesirable conditions of work. With regard to coping with financial challenges, most domestic workers engaged in small businesses (30.8%), debts (49.2%), sexual relationships and stealing.

## **5.2. Discussions**

This study has challenged a series of stereotypes held in previous research regarding domestic work. Firstly, the study has shown the true patriarchal image of a dichotomous master-servant relationship, with considerable differences existing between the socio-economic backgrounds of domestic workers and employers. Their relationship hinges on exploitation which leads to a temporal social structure in which dominance is reproduced. These exploitative relationships happen despite the existence of labour laws which have been crafted in line with the international human rights standards of ILO Convention 189 and Recommendation 201 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers (2011) to which the Zambian government is signatory. The reasons why the labour laws are abrogated could be that the relationships were diverse, ranging from quasi-familial affection to friendship mediated relations which may have allowed brief, antagonistic encounters. However, these relationships were overwhelmingly entered into as part of a strategy to meet the demands of particular family life-cycle stages. Domestic work in the current study has diverged considerably from the modern stereotype, which has been drawn largely from patterns of service in elite homes and from contemporary published literature. Whether you are a man or woman, you could be expected to do anything.

### **5.2.1. Nature of Work performed by Female and Male Domestic Workers**

The study has established that the nature of domestic work in Chelstone is depended on the type of household that domestic workers are employed into. Some domestic workers are the only employee in the household; others work with one or two other domestics. Some work along-side their employer and/or their employer's children, and some work as live-in and live-out respectively. This is what ILO in its report of 2012 also established. However, contrary to ILO's findings, this study discovered that in situations where domestic workers are alone in the household, they tend to be classified as general workers, in which case the job description is fluid and it cuts across typical gender roles.

Gender division of labour is prominent when it comes to those workers who are employed with others or who work with their employers. In which case women are typically assigned indoor tasks such cooking, cleaning house, babysitting, laundry, ironing, cleaning kitchen utensils. Men are usually allocated outdoor tasks, including gardening, raking the leaves, chopping wood, washing cars, driving and security services. This is what Ray, 2000 also established. However, contrary to Ray's formulations this study discovered that it is not all the time that gender division of labour is observed in domestic work. There were times when men and women performed duties which did cut across both sexes, when the gendered patterns of work would be modified according to the employer's preferences. Both women and men were involved in cleaning the house and surrounding, gardening, washing cars, washing plates and clothes, ironing, shopping, cooking, care for the elderly, and the disabled.

The current study is in consonance with other studies elsewhere with regard to the classification of general workers which has no clear job description. Studies, (the current study included) indicate that the 'general worker' classification gives employers the liberty of allocating any jobs, which in most cases results in domestic workers being overworked. Additionally employers tend to be assigning tasks that are considered 'shameful' by the workers (see Anderson, 1991; Hickson and Strous, 1993). Both women and men in the study described instances where they were taken advantage off. The expectation of washing

underwears for employers and their children, clean shoes for everyone in the family, wash dogs and clean up their mess, flush toilets and cook food for the dogs, is considered as exploitation and demeaning by the domestic workers. As a result of this, domestic workers feel unappreciated, undervalued and unrecognised, which instils feelings of unhappiness and shame with their jobs (Du Preez, Beswick, Whittaker and Dickinson (2010).

### **5.2.2. Experiences of Domestic Workers in Gender Perspective**

Domestic workers in the current study just like Anderson (2000) and Shashi (2010) studies are still exploited in their work. This study has shown that both women and men are working in inhumane conditions with insufficient legal protection. There is non-adherence by employers to the employment provisions. Most of the domestic workers take long hours at work, with no leave for very low wages. Overtime and public holidays come with a lot of work. Domestic workers are not granted sick leave. According to Human Rights Watch (2007) employers may find it hard to give domestic workers sick leave because domestic work has been reduced to a labour unit rather than thought of as a person.

Human Rights Watch (2007); Mkandawire-Valhmu (2010), found that the lives of domestic workers are characterised by abuse in the workplace. This Chelstone study has established what is also obtaining elsewhere that domestic workers are vulnerable to physical and psychological abuse in the workplace (Cock 1980; Cohen, 2000; Dinat and Peberdy, 2007; Mkandawire-Valhmu et al., 2009). There is a disproportionate affect for both women and men. Men suffer more of health hazards (high blood pressure, headaches, injuries or wounds, coughs, back pain) than women, and women are more abused sexually than men as was once found by Risman (2004). Besides, this study has affirmed what Hansen (1990), Pape (1993) and Bujra (2000) found that women employers are known to not trust their female workers fearing that their husbands were prone to seduction.

The relationship between domestic workers and their employers in the current study is characterised by prominent inequality. It is the lack of equality between domestic workers and employers that may allow for exploitation of domestic

workers (Hickson and Strous, 1993). According to Anderson (1991), in order for employers and employees to have a successful relationship, they have to 'bond'. However, the dynamics of the relationship between domestic workers and their employers may be problematic given the class inequalities that define the relationship. Besides initiatives taken by the women and men in the study to build and maintain a good relationship with their employers, employers maintained a sense of distance, isolation and demonstrated inhuman treatment. This was demonstrated by the disrespectful manner in which employers addressed workers; by not allowing them to sit on their chairs/sofas; not to watch television or play music; not to eat foods inside the house; not to share utensils, bathrooms or toilets with them.

The study found that most employees were verbally abused. This finding is complemented by the Human Rights Watch (2007) report, and Mkandawire-Valhmu (2010) study which found that the lives of domestic workers are characterised by verbal abuse in the workplace. Most of the women and men in this study maintained that most of the time communication was not there, especially from their employers. However, there was no statistical association of verbal abuse with gender ( $p > 0.05$ ).

To this end, the study largely runs counter to the intersectionality theory save for class inequalities which seems to be the main basis for exploitation. Unlike the assumptions of Intersectionality theory which point to the intersection of multiple identities such as age, gender, race and low socio-economic status as the basis of exploitation, negative experiences and human rights violations (Crenshaw 1991b; Collins 2000; Josephson 2002), this study discovered that only socio-economic status is a factor. It is evident in the findings of the current study that both female and male domestic workers lack privileges, freedom and opportunities in the sense that their respective employers had control over their freedom of movement, and they lack respect for privacy regarding their personal life. The very reality of the workers is not acknowledged as they are treated like things or objects (Cock 1980; Wilson 2010).

### **5.2.3. Livelihood and Copying Strategies of Female and Male Domestic Workers**

This study confirmed the assertion by ILO (2012) that poverty is the main reason for engaging in domestic work. This results from lack of education on the part of the domestic workers, which obviously hinders them from accessing formal employment. The high unemployment levels in Zambia also are a contributing factor because the employers have the privilege of firing and hiring domestic workers from the readily available labour pool, thus the employed men and women were grateful to have jobs and an income, even though it was not enough.

In light of the above, intersectionality theory, posits that domestic work perpetuates inequality and family poverty because lack of schooling opportunities and skills training deprives domestic workers of lifelong skills which they can use to move out of poverty. The intersectionality theory, therefore, states that poor family background and inadequate skills put domestic workers in the position of vulnerability and force them to occupy low class jobs that exacerbate poverty in their families. Thus, the implications of domestic work is that women and men are subjected to poor terms of employment and working conditions which deny them the right to better salaries, social and economic security. Hence, female and male domestic workers are trapped in the vicious cycle of family poverty.

Like other studies, this current study has affirmed what was found by the Human Rights Watch (2004) and International Labour Organisation (2012) that domestic workers are not guaranteed a regular wage. Wages are often below the statutory minimum wage and there is no provision for overtime payments, health insurance, benefits or gratuity. The study further found that most domestic workers suffer irregular and untimely payments and deductions to pay. However, income distribution showed no statistically significant association with gender ( $p = 0.712$ ), both female and male domestic workers were poorly paid. These findings support the ILO (2012) report, which argues that the consequences of earning a low salary, pay in installments and deductions to pay made women and men to make difficult livelihood choices for survival.

The current study found that respondents were strained and stressed from work, income and the relationships which existed between them and their employers. Considering the private and isolated nature of the domestic service (Dilata, 2010; Du Preez et al., 2010), this study is in consonance with other studies elsewhere that discovered that domestic workers find ways to cope and deal with their situations at work to alleviate stressful circumstances and to alter the situation that is causing distress, directing attention toward the problem in an effort to prevent or control it (See Folkman and Lazarus, 1980; 1986; Zeidner and Endler, 1996). However, contrary to Folkman and Endler studies that established that domestic workers engage in eating, drinking, smoking, using drugs or medication, or sleeping as way of coping with their stressful situations or negative experiences. The current study discovered that both female and male domestic workers could do nothing to ease their situation and enhance their livelihood. Some of them, however, shared their predicaments with friends, family members, the police and employers' significant others. A few opted to quit their employment under undesirable conditions of work. With regard to coping with financial challenges, most domestic workers engaged in small businesses, debts, sexual relationships and stealing.

#### **5.4. Summary**

This chapter has discussed findings based on research questions. It has shown that domestic workers are still exploited in their work, inspite the fact that there are policies which tends to address domestic workers vulnerability (ZHDR, 2011; ILO, 2012) in Zambia and the world over. The chapter has shown the demographic profile of domestic workers and knowledge about their work. It has further shown that respondents were strained and stressed from work overload, low income, long hours of work and the unequal relationships which existed between them and their employers. Domestic workers were also sexually and verbally abused. As a result of this, domestic workers find ways to cope and deal with their negative experiences at work to enhance their livelihood. While some coping strategies were beneficial, others might be harmful to them and the society at large. The next chapter presents conclusion and recommendations of the study.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1. Conclusion**

This study investigated domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. It was a case study based on women and men working as live-out domestic workers in Chelstone area of Lusaka city in Zambia. The study revealed that domestic work in Chelstone has diverged considerably from the modern stereotype, which has been drawn largely from patterns of service in elite homes and from contemporary published literature. Whether you are a man or woman, you could be expected to do any work. Although there is considerable gender division of labour in the allocation of domestic work, there are many instances when gender dimension does not affect the allocation of tasks.

The relationship between domestic workers and their employers in the current study is characterised by prominent inequality. It is the lack of equality between domestic workers and employers that may allow for exploitation of domestic workers (Hickson and Strous, 1993). The findings indicate that domestic workers faced labour and human rights violations in the sense that their respective employers had control over their freedom of movement, and they lacked respect for privacy regarding their personal life. The very reality of the workers is not acknowledged as they are treated like things or objects. It just lays a very general obligation statement on the employer to 'respect the workers human dignity'.

Experiences of domestic workers with their jobs were largely negative. They recounted long hours of work, sexual harassment, verbal abuse, poor health consequence, low salaries and unequal relationships with employers. One of the most striking findings of this research was that respondents have accepted their conditions as natural to their work. This results from lack of education on the part of the domestic workers, which obviously hinders them from accessing formal employment. The high unemployment levels in Zambia also are a contributing factor because the employers have the privilege of firing and hiring domestic workers from the readily available labour pool, thus the employed men

and women were grateful to have jobs and an income, even though it was not enough.

In terms of coping strategies which were resulting from negative experiences, the respondents displayed a sense of helplessness, despair and isolation. Most of them indicated that they could do nothing to ease their situation and enhance their livelihood. Some of them, however, shared their predicaments with friends, family members, the police and employers' significant others. A few opted to quit their employment under undesirable conditions of work. With regard to coping with financial challenges, most domestic workers engaged in small businesses, debts, sexual relationships and stealing.

Even though the findings are based on the experiences of 120 respondents, the information obtained in this research was significant enough to conclude that the participants hardly experienced any labour and human rights - resulting in experiences of violence, exploitative nature of work and inhuman treatment. In this regard, the findings augment a very strong argument made by Blackett (2000) that the nature and/or reality of domestic work is indeed very specific.

From a gendered point of view, it can be concluded that gender division of labour is prominent in the manner domestic workers performed their duties. This is, however, not a universal phenomenon as there are many incidences when gender is silent especially among domestic workers who are classified as 'general workers'. In such cases, the gender dimension does not affect the allocation of tasks. In terms of experiences of domestic workers, the gender aspect is not a factor as both women and men seem to experience similar negative consequences. They are both subjected to long working hours, work overload, low salaries, unequal relationship with the employers, verbal abuse. However, gender was significantly associated with poor health consequences with men being mostly affected compared to women, except for sexual harassment where women were the most victims.

## 6.2. Recommendations

The issues uncovered by this research on domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective present various challenges to the Zambian government and their communities at large. It is important, therefore, that the Zambian government put in place measures to reduce abuse, exploitation, discrimination and marginalization of domestic workers and among them, this study recommends the following:

1. Accentuating public awareness efforts and the facilitation of accessible complaint procedures and for the efficient and meaningful application of written provisions to reduce abuse and exploitation of domestic workers.
2. The Zambian government should make domestic skills professional and more recognised by partnering with local NGOS, United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ) and Maid Centres to provide training programmes in domestic work for the communities since domestic workers play a valuable role in serving and caring for households and contribute to the global and national economy.
3. Because of the circumstances that might prolong the procedures for the enactment of the new domestic workers legislation, the Zambian government should provide an alternative to amend Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011 of the Employment Order Act, which fixes terms and conditions of work to allow free labour inspection in private houses. This will meet one of the proposed stands in the labour-inspection as is put by Richthofen Von Wolfgang (2002) who writes that political will and commitment must not only translate into adequate resources, it must first and foremost provide an appropriate policy framework and legal base for labour inspection. This will enable employers abide by the employment and working conditions act and minimum wage policy.

4. More over the Zambian government should stiffen the laws of imprisoning employers abusing domestic workers. Employers should be made to understand that domestic workers are also human beings who need to rest and respected.
5. The Zambian government under the Ministry of Labour should increase the minimum wage policy for domestic workers. The current one (K520.00) has proved to be too little for domestic workers to manage all the necessities of life. This will also help reduce health problems experienced by domestic workers due to financial pressure.
6. The Zambian government, civil society organisations, employers to take gender issues in domestic work more seriously through public awareness. For instance women should be allowed to be on paid maternity leave. They should also be given mother's day once in a month. Men should also be given father's day.
7. The Zambian government through the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS) should ensure the active involvement of other government institutions, international organisations, NGOs, community-based organisations (CBOs), faith-based organisations (FBOs), donors, the private sectors and media organisations in addressing the worst forms of domestic labour that deprive domestic workers labour and human rights. They should provide a 24 hour free toll line for domestic workers legal advice. They should also come up with a television and radio phone-in programmes. This will help reduce violence, discrimination, abuse and exploitation of domestic workers.
8. There is also need to have a strong labour union for domestic workers. And to ensure that every domestic worker belong to a Union (United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia) to enhance their representation in forms where their contributions will be required as other unions. This will make it easy for the women and men to exercise and demand their rights as workers.

### **6.3. Areas of Further Research**

This study looked at domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective. However, during data collection and analysis, it came out clear that there is specific aspects of stress, strain and the coping process that may be important despite their not coming to mind most immediately as coping strategies. Moreover, the tool that the researcher used employed constructs from other research which did not give much thought to stress, strain and coping strategies. There is a logical and epistemological question to ask whether from this study and looking into the future one really has to look at coping strategies. The researcher thinks that the answer is yes. There is a need to carry out research on domestic work and management of stress, strain owing to the perceptions that a combination of life stressors and triggers can challenge the psycho-social resilience of low-income, abused and exploited working men and women in domestic work as well as coping strategies to alleviate these.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Work Plan/Project Time Frame

No	Task/ Activity	Schedule														
		2014									2015					
		May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul
1	Literature Review	■	■													
2	Proposal Writing and submission			■	■	■	■									
3	Pilot Study						■									
4	Data Collection							■	■							
5	Data Analysis									■						
6	Final Report Writing										■	■				
7	Final Reporting Editing												■	■		
8	Submission of Final Report														■	■

## Appendix II: Budget

Description	Quantity	Rate (K)	Total
<u>Stationery</u>			
Reams of Bond Paper	10	30.00	300.00
Blue Pens	10	1.00	10.00
Pencils	05	0.50	2.50
Flash Disks	02	75.00	150.00
Ink for Printer	02	450.00	900.00
<b>Sub-total</b>			<b>1,362.50</b>
<u>Secretarial Services</u>			
Typing of Dissertation	100pages	5.00	500.00
Photocopying	200pages	0.20	40.00
Binding of Final Copies	5 copies	100.00	500.00
<b>Sub-total</b>			<b>1, 040.00</b>
<u>Professional Fees</u>			
Research Assistants	2 Research Assistants at K250.00 per day x	250.00	5,000.00
Researchers' transport	10 days	100.00	1,000.00
costs	10 days	50.00	500.00
Lunch Allowance	10 days	200.00	200.00
Talk time for Communication			
<b>Sub-Total</b>			<b>6, 700.00</b>
<b>Contingency Reimbursement at 10%</b>			<b>787.65</b>
<b>Grand-total</b>			<b>8,664.15</b>

**Appendix III: Letter of Introduction from the University of Zambia,  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of  
Gender Studies.**



**UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA  
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF GENDER STUDIES**

Tel: +260-295216

P.O. Box 32379

LUSAKA

9 December, 2014

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Dear Sir/Madam

**RE: INTRODUCTION: MELODY KANYEMBO**

I write to confirm that **Melody Kanyembo**, Computer Number **513803204**, is a Master of Arts Student in the Department of Gender Studies at the University of Zambia for the academic year 2014. One of the requirements for this programme is to conduct research. Her research is entitled "**Domestic work and livelihood experiences from a gender perspective: A case study of Chelstone in Lusaka.**" She is seeking to collect information, conduct interviews and focus group discussions from individuals in your institution.

The department would appreciate any assistance rendered to her in this regard.

Yours faithfully

**DR. T. KUSANTHAN  
ACTING HEAD – GENDER STUDIES DEPARTMENT**



# Appendix IV: Consent Form to Participants

UNZAREC FORM 1b



**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA  
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES  
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

Telephone: +260-211-290258/293937  
Fax: +260-211-290258/293937  
E-mail: [drgs@unza.zm](mailto:drgs@unza.zm)

P. O. Box 32379  
Lusaka, Zambia

**HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

## **CONSENT FORM**

(Translated into vernacular if necessary)

**TITLE OF RESEARCH:**

**REFERENCE TO PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET:**

1. Make sure that you read the Information Sheet carefully, or that it has been explained to you to your satisfaction.
2. Your permission is required if tape or audio recording is being used.
3. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, i.e. you do not have to participate if you do not wish to.
4. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of services to which you are otherwise entitled.
5. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of services and without giving a reason for your withdrawal.
6. You may choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.
7. The information collected in this interview will be kept strictly confidential.
8. If you choose to participate in this research study, your signed consent is required below before I proceed with the interview with you.

**VOLUNTARY CONSENT**

I have read (or have had explained to me) the information about this research as contained in the Participant Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I now consent voluntarily to be a participant in this project and understand that I have the right to end the interview at any time, and to choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study.

My signature below says that I am willing to participate in this research:

Participant's name (Printed): .....

Participant's signature: ..... Consent Date: .....

Researcher Conducting Informed Consent (Printed) .....

Signature of Researcher: ..... Date: .....

Signature of parent/guardian: ..... Date: .....

## Appendix V: Letter of Consent to Respondent

Dear Respondent

My full names are Melody Kanyembo, a student at the University of Zambia, Gender Studies Department in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. I am conducting a study on **Domestic Work and Livelihood Experiences from a Gender Perspective: A Case Study of Chelston in Lusaka** as partial fulfilment of my Masters of Arts in Gender Studies.

You have been identified as one of the respondents to participate in this research study. Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at anytime without permission or explanation if you feel uncomfortable with the interview. However, I hope you will participate in the study since your views are important.

I would like to ask you questions on domestic work and livelihood experiences. This information will assist human rights advocates, policy makers, and other gender activists, donors and the public in developing appropriate intervention policies, programmes and strategies that could be used to address the vulnerability of domestic workers in Zambia, and the world at large. You are, therefore, asked to answer the questions provided in this questionnaire.

You are assured that whatever information you will provide will be kept strictly confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone as this research is purely for academic purposes.

If you need clarity, feel free to contact the Head of Department, Gender Studies Department, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zambia, P.O. Box 32379, Lusaka.

Do not write your name on this questionnaire.

**Part A: Background Information**

- Q1. Sex of respondent
- 1. Male [ ]
  - 2. Female [ ]
- Q2. How old were you on your last birthday? .....
- Q3. What highest level of education have you attended?
- 1. None [ ]
  - 2. Primary [ ]
  - 3. Junior Secondary [ ]
  - 4. Senior Secondary [ ]
  - 5. Tertiary [ ]
- Q4. Do you presently live:
- 1. Alone [ ]
  - 2. With family (relatives) [ ]
  - 3. With employer [ ]
  - 4. With peers/friends/co-workers [ ]
  - 5. Other (specify) ..... [ ]
- Q5. What is your marital status?
- 1. Single [ ]
  - 2. Married [ ]
  - 3. Widowed [ ]
  - 4. Separated [ ]
  - 5. Divorced [ ]
- Q6. Do you have children?
- 1. Yes [ ]
  - 2. No [ ]
- Q7. If Yes to Q8, how many are they? .....
- Q8. Do your children live with you?
- 1. Yes [ ]
  - 2. No [ ]

**Part B: Nature of Work performed by Female and Male Domestic Workers**

- Q10. How long have you been working as a domestic worker?
- 1. Less than a year [ ]
  - 2. Over 1 year [ ]
  - 3. 2-3 years [ ]
  - 4. 3-4 years [ ]
  - 5. 4-5 years [ ]
  - 6. Over 5 years [ ]
- Q11. What are the reasons for becoming a domestic worker?
- 1. I am poor [ ]
  - 2. I am not educated [ ]
  - 3. I need to look after my children [ ]
  - 4. I like it. [ ]
  - 5. Other (specify)..... [ ]

- Q12. Do you wish to continue being a domestic worker?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q13. How do you think other people look at your occupation?
1. They respect it [ ]
  2. They discriminate against us [ ]
  3. They look down on it [ ]
  4. Other (specify)..... [ ]
- Q14. What are your duties?
1. Child minding/babysitting [ ]
  2. Taking care of sick, disabled employer or relative and elderly grandparents [ ]
  3. Massage employer [ ]
  4. General household chores i.e. cooking, cleaning house and utensils, washing, laundry, ironing [ ]
  5. General driving and errands [ ]
  6. Washing cars and household tasks [ ]
  7. Gardening and cleaning surrounding [ ]
  8. Farming [ ]
  9. Security: day time services and night time services [ ]
  10. Assistance in commercial activity i.e. preparation and sale of foods and other goods etc [ ]
  11. Please specify others to be undertaken .....[ ]
- Q15. Have you at one point been given what is considered a woman or man's duties to perform?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q16. If yes to Q18, what kind of duties?
- Woman's duties*
1. Child care [ ]
  2. Cleaning the house [ ]
  3. Washing plates and clothes [ ]
  4. Ironing [ ]
  5. Shopping [ ]
  6. Cooking [ ]
  7. Care for the elder and disabled [ ]
- Man's duties*
8. Gardening [ ]
  9. Farming [ ]
  10. Cleaning surroundings [ ]
  11. Washing cars [ ]
  12. Driving [ ]
  13. Security services [ ]
- Q17. How did you feel about this?
1. I felt Unappreciated [ ]
  2. Undervalued [ ]
  3. Unrecognised [ ]
  4. Unhappy [ ]
  5. Shame with my job [ ]
  6. Other (specify)..... [ ]

- Q18. Are you also expected to perform extra duties such as
1. I am expected to clean shoes for everyone in the family [ ]
  2. Wash dogs, clean up their mess and cook food for the dogs [ ]
  3. Flush toilets for employer and everyone in the family [ ]
  4. Wash underwears for employer and everyone in the family [ ]
  5. Please specify others to be undertaken..... [ ]
- Q19. What gender is preferred by employers for domestic work?
1. Men [ ]
  2. Women [ ]
- Q20. How many hours do you work every day?
1. 12-13 hours [ ]
  2. 13-14 hours [ ]
  3. 14-15 hours [ ]
  4. 15-16 hours [ ]
  5. 16-17hours [ ]
  6. 24 hours 'on call' [ ]
- Q21. If you happen to work overtime, are you paid for it?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q22. Do you have leave days i.e. day offs, holidays, sick leave, maternity leave etc?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q23. Do you have an employment contract with your employer?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No. [ ]

**Part C: Experiences of Domestic Workers in Gender Perspective**

- Q24. How did you find out about your job?
1. Through a friend [ ]
  2. Relative [ ]
  3. Maid Centre [ ]
  4. Own my own [ ]
- Q25. Did you have any prior knowledge of the employer?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q26. How is the relationship between you and your employer?
1. Very good [ ]
  2. Good [ ]
  3. Fair [ ]
  4. Bad [ ]
- Q27. Does living-out affect the relationship with your employers?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]

- Q28. Who tells you how and where to work?
1. Employer [ ]
  2. Family members (relatives) [ ]
- Q29. Do you discuss your personal life with your employer?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q30. Do you feel like you are part of the family?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q31. Do you eat the same meals as the family?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q32. Are you allowed to use all the equipment's in the house?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q33. Have you experienced any violence or abuse during your work?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q34. If Yes to Q40, what kind of violence or abuse have you experienced?
1. Sexual harassment [ ]
  2. Rape [ ]
  3. Physical violence i.e. beating, spiting, [ ]
  4. Verbal abuse i.e. insulting, [ ]
  5. Deprivation of food [ ]
  6. Other (specify)..... [ ]
- Q35. If Yes to Q41 have you filed complaints against your employer's abuse?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q36. If No to Q42 what could be the reason?
1. Fear of losing job [ ]
  2. Not taken serious when report to the authority [ ]
  3. Rarely obtain a verdict against the employer [ ]
  4. Feel ashamed, embarrassed [ ]
  5. Threatened by the employer to be killed [ ]
  6. Changed employer [ ]
  7. Other (specify)..... [ ]
- Q37. Who is most vulnerable to abuse and mistreatment between men and women?
1. Men [ ]
  2. Women [ ]
- Q38. Have you suffered any sickness or disease as a result of your work?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]

- Q39. If Yes to Q41 what kind of sickness or disease?
1. Fatigue and headache by long working hours and lack of sleep [ ]
  2. Injuries or wounds from hot pans and irons, knives, hoes etc [ ]
  3. Coughs and respiratory problem from toxic household chemicals, heavy loads [ ]
  4. Back pain by awkward posture and monotonous and heavy physical work [ ]
  5. Other (specify)..... [ ]

- Q40. What other experiences have you encountered as a domestic worker
1. Lack of appreciation for work done; [ ]
  2. Salary/wages delays; [ ]
  3. Lack of days off meaning continuous work with no break; [ ]
  4. Lack of medical treatment; [ ]
  5. Very low salaries; [ ]
  6. Abusive treatment [ ]
  7. No annual leave; [ ]
  8. Sexual harassment from the employer and his/her male/female relatives; [ ]
  9. Cleaning very dirty clothes, e.g. underwear, bed sheets; [ ]
  10. Denied the right to join a trade union; [ ]
  11. Isolation from other workers [ ]
  12. Being 'on-call' 24 hours a day [ ]
  13. Other (specify)..... [ ]

- Q41. What are some of the challenges in your work?
1. Failure to pay minimum wages [ ]
  2. Dismissal without compensation [ ]
  3. Lack of adherence to the initial contract service [ ]
  4. Discriminative practices [ ]
  5. Lack of protective clothing [ ]
  6. Long working hours [ ]
  7. Exposure to hazards i.e. cleaning toilets, boiling water, chemicals, electricity, handling sick people without adequate protection [ ]
  8. Other (specify)..... [ ]

**Part D: Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Female and Male Domestic Workers**

- Q42. On average how much do you earn?
1. K300-K400 [ ]
  2. K400-K500 [ ]
  3. K500-K600 [ ]
  4. K600-K700 [ ]
  5. Above K700 [ ]

- Q43. Do you receive your wages in full and on time?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]

- Q44. If No to Q51 why and how do you receive your wages?
1. Pay in kind such as food, accommodation [ ]
  2. Pay in instalments [ ]
  3. Salary delays [ ]
  4. Salary deductions due to breakages of cutlery [ ]
  5. Salary deductions when you report to work late [ ]
  6. Other (specify)..... [ ]

- Q45. Does gender, age, social class determines wages to be paid?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q46. If Yes to Q56 who receives better wages?
1. Men [ ]
  2. Women [ ]
  3. Young [ ]
  4. Elderly [ ]
  5. Trained [ ]
  6. Untrained [ ]
- Q47. Do you receive any benefits i.e. gratuity, pension, labour award, salary advance, bonus etc
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q48. Are you able to afford three meals a day?
1. Yes [ ]
  2. No [ ]
- Q49. Are your wages adequate to carter for all the necessities of life?
1. Very adequate [ ]
  2. Adequate [ ]
  3. Somewhat adequate [ ]
  4. Not adequate [ ]
- Q50. How often do you experience shortages in necessities of life?
1. Very often [ ]
  2. Often [ ]
  3. Rarely [ ]
  4. Not at all [ ]
- Q51. In which life areas do you mostly experience challenges?
1. Food [ ]
  2. Clothing [ ]
  3. School fees [ ]
  4. Water and electricity bills [ ]
  5. House rentals [ ]
  6. Other (specify)..... [ ]
- Q52. How do you make up for the shortages you experience or what other of source of income do you have to earn your living apart from domestic work?
1. Engaged in small scale business i.e. selling foods, goods [ ]
  2. Part time job [ ]
  3. Get credit [ ]
  4. Husband/wife's monthly salary or business [ ]
  5. Engaged in commercial sex [ ]
  6. Stealing [ ]
  7. Other (specify)..... [ ]

- Q53. How do you cope with the demands of your job and your family (personal) life?
1. Off Sundays/Saturdays [ ]
  2. Work half day Saturdays and off Sundays [ ]
  3. Ask for 2 days off in a week [ ]
  4. Knock off on time [ ]
  5. Given leave days [ ]
  6. Other (specify)..... [ ]
- Q54. How do you respond to mistreatment and abusive conditions of work (e.g. sexual harassment, abusive language, beatings)?
1. Threaten to report to Police [ ]
  2. Report to Civil Society Organisations i.e. Unions, NGOs [ ]
  3. Report to the employer's relatives, husband/wife, friends [ ]
  4. Share with friends and family for advise [ ]
  5. Take revenge by damaging the employer's property or mistreat the children [ ]
  6. Abandon work [ ]
  7. Do nothing about it [ ]
  8. Others (specify)..... [ ]
- Q55. How do you describe the workload that your employer gives you?
1. Overload [ ]
  2. Light work/normal [ ]
- Q56. If overload how do you copy with it?
1. Ignore part of the tasks [ ]
  2. Pretend not to have head the instructions to perform [ ]
  3. Abandon work [ ]
  4. Cite cultural taboos as prohibiting the performance of such tasks [ ]
  5. Other (specify)..... [ ]
- Q57. What in general do you think should be done in short and long term to address the vulnerability of domestics?
1. Government to make domestic skills professional and more recognised. [ ]
  2. Government to revise policies on terms of employment and conditions of work [ ]
  3. Government to stiffen the laws of imprisoning employers abusing domestics [ ]
  4. Government, Civil Society, Employers to take gender issues in domestic work more seriously [ ]
  5. Government and NGOs to come in and fight for the rights of domestic workers [ ]
  6. Government, Unions, Maid Centres to provide a 24 hour free toll line for Domestic workers legal advice [ ]
  7. Ensure every domestic worker belong to a Union [ ]
  8. Other (specify)..... [ ]

Is there anything else you would want to share with me about your life and domestic work?  
Do you have any questions or discussions?

*END OF INTERVIEW, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR TALKING TO ME*

## **Appendix VI: Schema of In-depth Interviews with Female and Male Domestic Workers**

### **Part A: Background Information**

1. What is your family background (Probe for Socio and economic)?

### **Part B: Nature of Work performed by Female and Male Domestic Workers**

1. At which age did you start working? What are the reasons to start working?
2. On average, how many hours do you work in a day.
3. How long have you been working as a domestic worker?
4. What type of contract do you have?
5. What type of work do you perform as a domestic worker?
6. How many (different) places have you worked in from the time you started domestic work?
7. What kind of job security do you have?

### **Part C: Experiences of Domestic Workers in Gender Perspectives**

1. What are the issues and problems that you face at the work place?
2. What do you do when you are sick? Do you get any sick leave?
3. What do you do during public holidays?
4. Probe any kind of rejections, stigmatization and low esteem (experiences)
5. What are other experiences that you encounter at your work place as a Female/Male domestic worker? (Probe for sexual harassment, verbal abuse, physical violence etc)?
6. What knowledge of legal and regulatory framework do you know?

### **Part D: Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Female and Male Domestic Workers**

1. How much do you get in a month?
2. What problems do you face in getting the salary every month?
3. What do you normally eat?
4. In which life areas do you mostly experience challenges?
5. How do you manage to keep up with the necessities of life in instances when your wage is not adequate?
6. How do you cope with many challenges of your job (Probe for physical, emotional, social challenges)?

Is there anything else you would want to share with me about your life and domestic work? Do you have any questions or contributions?

*END OF INTERVIEW, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR TALKING TO ME!*

## **Appendix VII: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Female and Male Domestic Workers**

### **Part B: Nature of Work performed by Female and Male Domestic Workers**

1. What are the reasons to start working as a domestic worker?
2. On average, how many hours do you work in a day?
3. What type of contract do you have?
4. What type of work do you perform as female domestic workers?
5. Have you at one point been given what is considered a man's duties to perform? If so, what kind of duties? How did you feel about this?
6. What gender is preferred by employers for domestic work? Explain why?
7. What kind of job security do you have?

### **Part C: Experiences of Domestic Workers in Gender Perspective**

1. What are the issues and problems that you face at the work place?
2. What do you do when you are sick? Do you get any sick leave?
3. What do you do during public holidays?
4. Probe any kind of rejections, stigmatization and low esteem (experiences)
5. What are other experiences that you encounter at your work place as Female/Male domestic worker (Probe for sexual harassment, verbal abuse, physical violence etc)?
6. What knowledge of legal and regulatory framework do you know?

### **Part D: Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Female and Male Domestic Workers**

1. On average how much do you get in a month?
2. What problems do you face in getting the salary every month?
3. What do you normally eat?
4. In which life areas do you mostly experience challenges?
5. How do you manage to keep up with the necessities of life in instances when your wage is not adequate?
6. How do you cope with many challenges of your job (Probe for physical, emotional, social challenges)?
7. What in general do you think should be done in short and long term to address the vulnerability of domestics?

Let's summarise some of the key points from our discussion. Is there anything else you would want to share with me about your life and domestic work?

Do you have any questions?

*END OF INTERVIEW, THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION!*

## **Appendix VIII: Schema of In-depth Interviews with Key Informants**

### **Part A: Background Information**

1. What is your name and what position do you hold in this organisation?
2. What exactly do you do?
3. What are your policies and what do you prioritise? (Probe for human rights, wages and gender policies)?
4. Who are the main victims of domestic work between men and women in Zambia? Explain why?
5. What efforts do you make to meet and work with domestic workers?
6. What are your main challenges that you face in trying to protect the rights of domestic workers?
7. What measures has your union put in place to provide protection of the rights of domestic workers and to ensure gender issues in domestic work are taken more seriously?

### **Part B: Nature of Work performed by Female and Male Domestic Workers**

1. Being someone who has been advocating for the rights of domestic workers, what are the legalised duties of domestic workers?
2. Are the duties of domestic workers gender specific? If so, what are the traditional duties of women and men?
3. Do you think there are any overlaps in the gendered assignment of duties? If so, what kinds of duties overlap? How do you think domestic workers feel about this?
4. How do you help domestic workers to have employment contracts with their employers, and bargain for them for other terms of employment and working conditions?

### **Part C: Experiences with Domestic Workers in Gender Perspective**

1. Being someone who has been involved with domestic workers for a long time, what are some of the experiences encountered by female and male domestic workers at their place of work?
2. Do you think domestic workers are vulnerable to abuse, mistreatment, sexual harassment etc in the homes of the employers? If so what kind of abuse or violence? What do they do about it?
3. Who is most vulnerable to abuse and mistreatment between men and women? Explain why?

### **Part D: Livelihood and Coping Strategies of Female and Male Domestic Workers**

1. On average how much do domestic workers earn?
2. Does gender, age, social class influence the wages domestic workers get paid?
3. How do you think domestic workers manage to keep up with the necessities of life in instances when their wages are not adequate?
4. How do you think domestic workers cope with many challenges of the job? (Probe for social, emotional and physical challenges)
5. What in general do you think should be done in short and long term to address the vulnerability of domestic workers?

Let's summarise some of the key points from our discussion. Is there anything else? Do you have any questions?

*END OF INTERVIEW, THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION!*